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TO
ALL MEN WHO DO NOT LIKE
TO BE DUPED.

*On the Intentions of the King relative
to a Dissolution.*

Kensington, 12th April, 1831.

THERE are men, and those not a few, who *like to be duped*, who are never happy except under the influence of some piece of fraud or other. It is to men of a different mould that I address this paper *on the intentions of the King regarding a dissolution, in case the Ministers cannot carry the Reform Bill without*. This, you will perceive, is the *only point*. We are SURE, that, if the Parliament be dissolved, the bill will then be carried: we are *sure of that*: therefore, there is *only the dissolution* wanting to ensure us the reform: we know that the power of dissolving *lies absolutely with the King*: and in how many, many addresses has the King been thanked and almost worshipped, called almost a *God*, for his having been, in fact, the *author of this bill!* He, therefore, will, having the power completely in his hands, dissolve the Parliament instantly, if the bill cannot be carried without it. *Will he?* Are you *sure of that?*

I am by no means sure of that, and I never have been, and I took infinite pains, in my *Register* of the 26th of March, to guard my readers against being duped by relying too firmly on the assertions of the newspapers with respect to the determination of the King. What mischief is done by insincerity! We go on duping each

other, till we, at last, dupe ourselves. I, for my part, never believed what the newspapers said about the King's zealous approbation of the measure. I never believed that he was the friend of the measure. I always believed that he wished it not to succeed. He never told me that he was friendly to it, and I have no assurance that he ever told *it* to any-body else; and, therefore, all the addresses to him upon the subject have been improper. Nobody knew that there was any gratitude due to him on this score; and, if they were mere artifices, intended to bring him into the measure to make him support it, they were not only so many pieces of hypocrisy, but they had a tendency to do the King unjust injury in the end, by making him appear a very fickle, wavering, or hypocritical man. But, for the present, what we have more immediately to do is, to ascertain, as nearly as we can, what his intentions with regard to the dissolution really are. The King himself says nothing at all to us. The Ministers say nothing to us, directly; but, the press, the daily newspapers, say a great deal to us; they are all most positive in asserting that the King is determined to cause the measure to be carried into execution; but still they keep telling us of things which, if true, prove that he is determined not to give his assent to a dissolution. Now, my friends, you who do not *like to be duped*, pray attend to these publications. They are extremely curious: they are most important historical documents: the fate of the country, or at least of great powers in the country, may possibly depend upon the acts resulting from the intrigues mentioned in these publications: never was this nation, or rather this Government, in so critical a state as it is in now: its state is precisely like that of the old French Government in the year 1788, when the Bourbon was still in his glory, and still hoped to see the French nation enslaved for ever. Look, there-

fore, well at these publications, as I shall insert them one after another. You will be perfectly convinced that the writers of these articles believe that the King is hostile to the bill; and you will see that it is now evident that the bill will be lost if the people do not follow the advice given by me in the *Register* of the 26th of March; namely, to pour in petitions to the King, to send those petitions by deputations from all parts of the country, the object to be simply that he will dissolve the Parliament immediately. If this be not done, there is no bill; and the King will not dissolve the Parliament unless the people, with one accord, press him to dissolve it.

The first of the articles or publications that I shall insert, I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 8th of April, in the following words:—

There is much force in these observations of our contemporary. We are quite aware of the lengths to which the boroughmongers would go to avert reform. But we trust to the strong determination of the people, which, rising with the discovery of any intrigue to defraud the nation of reform, would render every attempt of the kind impossible. There would not be a convulsion, for the unanimity of the people would prevent it. It is so much the interest of all who live by trade and industry to prevent any disturbances, any-thing which might have the effect of shaking confidence, that we are convinced they would exhibit themselves in such an attitude as would at once strike dismay into their factious enemies. This is not a party question; it is not a sectarian question: it is a question between the people and a few of their spoilers.

A majority might be obtained in the House of Commons; but would the King consent to a measure which would deprive him of the love of his people, cause him to be regarded as their enemy, or despised as a weak man, who could not adhere to any purpose? Could he, after receiving such hearty demonstrations of love and gratitude from his people, brook the idea of closing his eyes amidst their execrations? Could he think of leaving behind him the name of the man who, when a Ministry were supported by a united people, interposed between that people and their happiness? We cannot—we will not believe it. The time is past for wavering; his Majesty, as well as his Ministers, must go on.

They who speculate on the chances of events, may see in the delay caused by a dissolution a source of hope. This argument cuts two ways.

However, without a clear understanding,

obtained in the way resorted to on such occasions, that Ministers will have a decided majority without a dissolution, the sooner they have recourse to such a measure the better.

Now, to every man of common sense what does this say? Why, it says this, that this writer suspects that the King will not dissolve the Parliament; suspects, at least, that his intentions are not to dissolve it, and that he, therefore, holds out this threat of execration upon him unless he change his intention. Nothing can be clearer than this. When the writer says he cannot and will not believe that the King will act in such a manner, he, in fact, says that he *believes he will*. The recommendation which this writer gives to the Ministers is to get a clear understanding, as he calls it, that there shall be a decided majority without a dissolution. This is nonsense: there must be the dissolution, or the bill will not be carried. The next document that I shall insert is from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 11th instant, which brings forth the petticoat politicians, who appear now to be at work. It is a very curious document, this; but it is of great amount, and is a monstrous fine illustration of the benefits which arise from matrimonial political connexions. That ill-natured dog, Paine, observed that republics did not marry, and, of course, had no wives and families, and no foreign relations.

In answer to the rumours so industriously, and, it might be added, factiously circulated, we may say that the virtues which adorn the illustrious lady thus groundlessly aspersed, forbid the notion of her seeking to employ, in matters of such concernment, the influence over her husband which his affection invests her with; while his native strength of character and manliness of feeling would, if necessary, assign the proper limits to that influence, did, by possibility, a desire exist to extend them. It is not, the King well knows, of people with foreign notions and German prejudices, whether connected with him by ties of consanguinity or affinity, that a British Monarch ought to take counsel; nor would we will confidently affirm, the people nigh with complacency to counsels derived, or suspected of being derived, from such a source. The private virtues of the small German family attached, by recent connexion, to the British throne, are respected; but let the parties take heed. These are times in which small account

might be made of their pretensions, should they interfere with the just claims of the people; or should an apprehension get abroad that the proximity to the Sovereign had been abused to purposes pernicious to the general weal. Though we say thus much, it is, we firmly believe, through the perverse industry of a Prince—English, no doubt, by birth, but an alien in habits, manners and demeanour—that the reports to which we allude have got into circulation. They are, we believe, the last desperate resource of baffled spleen; and not countenanced even by the adherents of the party they are meant to serve.

We refer our readers to an extract from the *Windsor Express*, giving some details of the influence exerted at Windsor to prevent any public expression in favour of Reform in that town.

Here are "illustrious persons," here are "virtues that adorn them," here are all sorts of fine things; but, somehow or other, we are told that here is a woman whom some person groundlessly asperses by asserting that she employs, in matters of much concernment, to influence her husband, the influence which his affection invests her with. In short, the article means this, that the Queen, who is a person belonging to a small German family, and who is full of German notions and prejudices, has been endeavouring to make her husband not dissolve the Parliament. Now this is the plain sense of it. Whether it be true or false, God forbid that I should undertake to determine; but this is what it says; and then it refers to certain proceedings at Windsor, closely connected with, and most magnificently illustrating, the foregoing article. This paper is taken from the *Windsor Express* of Saturday last, the 9th instant. The article is likely to be pretty true in all its parts. It appears that the people of Windsor were "out to meet, like the people of other places, to express their approbation of the Reform Bill, to send petitions, and an address to the King. The people of Windsor argued thus: if we refrain from expressing our approbation, it will argue, not so much that our sentiments are hostile to it, but that the sentiments of the King are hostile to it. Nevertheless, a requisition having been signed for the meeting, the chief magistrate

thought it necessary to consult Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, who informed him that it *certainly would not be pleasant to the King for the town to put itself forward in advocating the measure*. That was pretty plain, I think! People must have been dupes indeed not to have thought this sufficient. This HERBERT TAYLOR, who was a mere soldier of fortune, was what was called "military secretary" to the Duke of York upwards of thirty years ago. When GEORGE the Third became blind, he was put to him to read the letters and despatches to him, and, in short, to be hands and eyes and ears to him. Since that he has never been out of the family. He appears to have been the great care-taker for the whole. A little part of the time of GEORGE the Fourth they appeared to think that they could do without him; but they got him back again: and he has been one of the carriers-on of the whole concern, being a sober, cool, cautious, industrious, close, and smooth man, that nobody speaks well of and nobody speaks ill of. He seems to belong to every Ministry and to no Ministry. How soon he would get routed out if I were Minister! It is a new office which he occupies; no Civil List ever knew any-thing of it: if he be not a Privy Councillor it is a strange thing; for all the state secrets were read by him, or written by him, for years; at least all that the King had any-thing to do with. Now, it is from this famous Herbert that the Mayor of Windsor received the reply, that it *certainly would not be pleasant to the King for the town to put itself forward in advocating the measure*. Judge you, then, whether he would have said this if he had not known that the King was decidedly hostile to the measure. But now take the article itself; for it is a document that is to live, you may be sure, in the history of this day; and possibly, HERBERT TAYLOR may yet be heard of in a situation very different from that in which he now is. If Lord Grey have not the power to oust this man out of the Palace, if this account be true; that is to say, if he have not the power of putting him

out of his place ; putting him out of the receipt of public money ; if he have not the power of doing this, upon ascertaining this account to be true, then I am sure he has not the power to carry any measure whatever for the benefit of the country. Here is the article, taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 11th instant, and from the *Windsor Express* of the 9th instant.

The attempt to which we alluded last week, and we regret to say the successful attempt, to suppress, for the present at least, all expression of public opinion in this town on the subject of the Reform Bill, has excited much speculation, both in this town and elsewhere, as to the "*certain quarter*" whence the interdiction in question could have proceeded. We have already expressed our own sentiments regarding the measure itself too-explicitly to render necessary any further observations on the general question; but independent of the friendly feeling which we, in common with the vast majority of our readers, entertain towards this great public measure, we do feel that it would be a compromise of our duty, as public journalists, if we failed to indicate the quarter from which such dictation emanated, and to expose the unworthy manœuvring of a party, whose object it has doubtless been, by suppressing the sentiments of our townsmen in favour of Reform, to encourage the inference that the people of Windsor are adverse to the measure, and by implication, that the sentiments of the Sovereign—for it would of course be inferred that the wishes of the loyal inhabitants of this Borough correspond with those of the Sovereign—that the sentiments, we say, of our Patriot King are also unfavourable to it.

To discountenance at once such an erroneous supposition, such a monstrous absurdity, but which, if left uncontradicted, would not only compromise the character of our own townsmen in the opinion of the country, but might possibly prove in some degree *damnatory*, even to the Bill itself; to expose the shallow, but unconstitutional artifice that has been resorted to on the present occasion, it will be necessary only briefly to narrate a few interesting facts that have come to our knowledge, and which we shall proceed to do without further preface or comment. Towards the latter end of February, a requisition, most respectfully signed, was presented to our worthy Mayor, calling upon him to convene a public Meeting of the inhabitants of the Borough of New Windsor, for the purpose of taking the sense of the town on a Petition in favour of the Ministerial Reform Bill. Our Chief Magistrate, as might naturally be expected, wished for the advice and counsel of his constituted legal adviser. This gentleman, we are informed, thought it necessary to consult *Sir Herbert Taylor* on the subject, wishing (it is said) to know whether it would

be fitting and proper in the town to advocate the Reform measure. Sir Herbert replied, that it *certainly* would not be pleasant to the King for the town to put itself forward in advocating the measure. This message was delivered to the requisitionists, who in consequence withdrew their names. This we understand to be substantially the history of the first requisition. The respectable inhabitants, however, far from satisfied by the vague and equivocal manner in which the public voice had been stifled in the instance just alluded to, were determined to make a second attempt to give expression to their feelings and sentiments on a subject so nearly connected with the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and accordingly a second requisition was determined on, and actually in course of signature, when a letter was received by William Legh, Esq., the Banker (of the firm of Ramsbottom and Legh), and himself one of the requisitionists, requesting that gentleman to suppress the requisition then in progress, which was accordingly done. To the latter requisition was affixed the following names, besides that of Mr. Legh, namely, Dr. Fergusson, M. D., Colonel Bridges, William Randall, Esq., Surgeon, W. J. Voules, Esq., Solicitor, — Sharp, Esq., all influential men, and of the highest respectability.

I next proceed to another article taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, the 13th of April, which is in the following words:

The extract which we yesterday gave from *The Windsor Express*, respecting the exertions made in that borough to stifle the expression of approbation of the Reform Bill, contains particulars which ought to be further cleared up. Twice have the inhabitants been interested with. The first time Sir Herbert Taylor was the actor; but it is not stated who wrote the letter to Mr. Legh, the Banker, requesting that gentleman to suppress the second requisition then in progress. Was it Earl —? For strange stories are told of the manner in which his Lordship has compromised his Royal Mistress on more than one occasion, by the ambiguous language he has held while labouring to throw impediments in the way of Reform. Whoever be the offender, he ought to be known. It is clear that the respectable inhabitants of Windsor would not have abstained from joining their countrymen on this great occasion, merely to oblige Sir Herbert Taylor or even Lord —. They must have been led to believe that their approbation of the Reform Bill would give pain in a higher quarter. Now who has dared to seek to produce such an impression on the minds of the inhabitants of Windsor, and thus to excite in the minds of the people throughout the country such a painful mistrust of those whom they wish to love and regard? This must be inquired into.

For the Royal Majesty's steady resolutions

This must be inquired into.
Fortunately his Majesty's steady resolutions

are too well known to allow the people *to doubt* for *one moment* of the *sincerity* of his attachment to the principles on which he bestowed his approbation. But this does not diminish the misconduct of those who have availed themselves of their situations near the Royal Family, to produce impressions on the public mind calculated to exhibit Majesty in an unfavourable light. These are not times in which the feelings of the people are to be wantonly trifled with. These meddling men at Windsor must be *brought to their senses*.

To talk about the Lady would require a more circumlocutious and careful mode of expression than I think it worth while to give myself the trouble to use. But, the gentlemen mentioned here might have a good rough rubbing down if it were worth while. The main thing, however, for us to stick to here is this; that the people of Windsor must have been led to believe that their giving their approbation to the Reform Bill would *give pain to the King*; and, we have to ask ourselves whether it be likely that either **HERBERT TAYLOR** or **LORD HOWE** would have produced such an impression on the minds of the people of Windsor if they had not been quite satisfied that their doing so would have pleased the King. What! are we to believe, that here are a couple of deep courtiers living snugly upon the public money in consequence, and only in consequence, of their pleasing the King: are we to believe that these two men, or either of them, would go and say to the people of Windsor, "Do that which will make it appear "that the King is hostile to the Reform "Bill?" Can we believe that either of these men would have done this if he had not known the King to be hostile to the Bill? To suppose the contrary is quite monstrous. Therefore, if the King be ready to dissolve the Parliament in order to have the bill carried, he, at any rate, is not thought to be so ready, or to be willing to do it at all by those persons who are living under the same roof with him. It must be a strange man, who is capable of disquising his sentiments so completely, that even those who are dipping in the same dish with him do not know any-thing of his intentions. Nay, they must disguise their way of thinking from him

too, else he would certainly drive them from his presence. What! suffer two men to live under the same roof with him, to be constantly riding out or sitting at the same table with him; and, seeing them work double tides against the Reform Bill, which he is so anxious, so sincerely anxious, to carry; suffer these men to remain in his house, enjoying all their power and all their honours, and, according to all appearance, as highly in his favour as ever! The last paragraph of this article from the *Chronicle* is one of the old sort; boasting of the *steady resolution* of the King, "*leaving no doubt, for one moment*, of his sincerity in this case." Well, now, if we cannot doubt, for one moment, of his sincerity in this case, why all this fuss; why all this gossiping and backbiting about the German Lady and her country-folks? Why need the *Chronicle* disturb itself about the gabbling and jaffling of any Germans, if the King cannot, for one moment, be doubted? Now, soft words are of no use in a case like this. The *Chronicle* tells a falsehood; it puts a falsehood deliberately down into print, when it says that "we cannot doubt, "for one moment, of the sincerity of "the King in the cause of Reform." This is a falsehood which it puts into print; or, all its complaints against the German women and their connexions, against Herbert Taylor, and against others whom it calls the meddling men at Windsor; all this is impertinent nonsense; for, of what effect is it all to be? If the King be so firm as for it not to be allowed to doubt, for one moment, of his sincerity, what signifies it to us what the German people are talking about; and, what signifies it to us what they are doing or what they are attempting to do? The writer of the "*Morning Chronicle*" knows very well the use of words. He perceives clearly that the King will not dissolve the Parliament; or, rather, that he is not in the mind at present to dissolve it; and that these writings are intended to terrify the King and those about him, and to make them give way to a dissolution, in



as clear as day-light. All the pretences of the King's being ready to dissolve the Parliament if it be necessary to carry the Bill, are utterly false; and, therefore, if we make up our minds that the bill ought to be carried; that it cannot be carried without a dissolution of the Parliament, our way is to petition the King to dissolve the Parliament; and this ought to have been done long and long ago. I recommended it on the 26th of March; and it ought to have been done even a week before that; but, if it do not take place now, it will be a strange thing, indeed. As I said, at the time, it will not be enough for **Lord Grey** to say, "I could not get the King to dissolve the Parliament, and therefore walked out of place." He must issue a clear and explicit declaration upon the subject; he must tell the people flat and plain what he wished to do, and that he has been prevented from doing it by the King. It is nonsense to talk of "other persons," and "higher quarters," and "different quarters." The King is not too sacred to be named, to be sure: they name him freely enough when they come thundering in our ears for taxes or duties of any sort; and why not name him now? Here is a certain great good: that good we have been praying for for a great many years; the Minister would give us that good; it depends only upon the will of the King whether we shall have it or not; and, if he will not let us have it, must not we be told so? Are we such beasts that we are not to be told who it is that keeps from us that which we want?

It was clear to me, from the moment the division had taken place, that the King would not dissolve the Parliament in case of need, to carry the bill; because it was clear that there were *three hundred and one* members of Parliament that believed he would not. This was certain, and it was not certain that any portion of the three hundred and two believed that he would; it was not to be believed that those *three hundred and one* men could all be totally in error upon that point so important to them. Therefore, I then urged the people immediately to surround the

King with petitions for a dissolution, if they meant to have this reform. Certain movements, too, to Windsor and back again; certain measures with regard to the play-houses, all indicated to me hostility to the bill on the part of the King and the court. The case has become a great deal more complicated now: the grounds for a dissolution cannot be so clear now as they were the moment the division had taken place, but still there is plenty of time now to dissolve. It is nonsense to go into the committee with a hope of carrying the bill without a dissolution; for, there have been enough to declare that though they voted for the second reading of the bill, they would so vote in the committee as to defeat the main object of it; therefore, it is nonsense to talk of going into the committee with this present Parliament. If the King were explicitly to declare that he was on the side of the bill, that would make a difference; but to order a dissolution is the only way in which he can effectually make that declaration; and, until he do it, common sense bids us look upon him as being an enemy of the bill. Dreadful, to be sure, will be the consequences of the bill being defeated and of the whole nation knowing that it is the boroughmongers and the King who have defeated it. I do hope that such will never be the case; but if it be, dreadful, in the end, will be the consequences; because, up to this moment, nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of every thousand believe most sincerely that the King is for the Bill.

But, because it is manifest that the consequences of defeating the bill would be dreadful; because it is perfectly evident to every one that the defeating of the bill would bring destruction, and might bring speedy destruction, upon the boroughmongers and their various bands of bloodsuckers; because this is evident to every one, we are not, therefore, to suppose that boroughmongers and bloodsuckers will not proceed in endeavouring to defeat the bill. For, though they know this very well, they also know that the bill would be sure to destroy them. Some years ago, when

I had been writing about the necessity of reform, for the purpose of sparing the resources of the country, and of saving it from final convulsion, a gentleman who differed somewhat from me in opinion, and yet who could not answer my arguments, said to me, "Why, "now, there's CANNING and HUSKISSON "and JENKINSON and old ROSE, and "that deep silent fellow, CHARLES "LONG: they are very deeply interested "in this thing; they *must know a good deal about the matter*: if what you "say be true; if there must be a reform to save the country from convulsion, in which convulsion they "must lose every-thing, *would not they be for reform?*" I say they do understand the matter as clearly as I do: they know that revolution must come at last, if there be not reform; but mind this, they know that reform would be sure to strip them naked, and that they might, by turning their coats, or by some trick or another, bustle through a revolution, and save what they have got.

Never, therefore, rely upon their judgment as to the relative dangers of reform and revolution. Never rely upon their giving way upon the question of Reform for the sake of *avoiding a revolution*. A reform is sure to bring them down into a state from which they never ought to have been elevated: a reform would be sure to do this; but revolution would be sure to do no such thing. They are, like Preston Cock, essentially scum; and when the political pot boils in a very furious manner, the scum gets to the top. At any rate, they would have certain chances in a revolution; whereas a quiet reform is sure to pluck them, feather by feather, until they be as bare as robins six hours old.

The House is to go into the Committee on the 18th. If I were in Lord GREY's place, it should not go into that Committee at all. I would dissolve it, or I would leave it and the King. I would leave the King and faithful Commons to carry on the concern in their own good way, sending to the King along with my commission as First Lord of the Treasury, a statement of my reasons for quitting his service. In

that statement I would accurately describe the number of Peers and of other great men with the whole of the legislative power in their hands, who had the whole of the purses of the people at their command, who had, in fact, the whole of their lives at their command also; and who, having the power to take from every man as much of their property as they pleased, are, in fact, the real proprietors of all the lands, houses, ships, trades, and every-thing existing in the country. To this statement I would add a description of the state of the people, and would cite all the acts of tyranny continually committed upon them. I would show, as clear as daylight, that the whole had proceeded from a want of Parliamentary Reform; that this measure, if adopted, would put every thing to rights in a short time; but that, as his Majesty did not choose to empower me to carry the Reform Bill, I had retired, and left him to pursue his course amidst his new advisers. This declaration, or letter to the King, I would make as public as possible. I would take care that copies of it were sent into every village in the kingdom, and there kept and exposed. I would have them sent to all the parish officers, in the first place; I would cause them to be sent to every public meeting that should take place, in every part of the kingdom, Ireland not excepted. I would let the King see that I was not going to be treated by him as I was by his father in 1807. This, however, you will observe, is speaking only hypothetically; for I really do not know that the King will not uphold his Minister, and I am sure I most sincerely hope that he will; but, if it come to the pinch, this is what I trust Lord GREY will do. For, let his Lordship observe one thing, that, in such a case, an explanation or declaration made in Parliament, amounts to just nothing at all. Let him recollect, too, that, the moment he is out of power, the infamous press will turn against him the next day. I will bet any man fifty sovereigns that the bloody *Times* attacks him the second day after he is out of office. They would misrepresent his motives for going out;

these scoundrel daily papers, for the far greater part, detest the thought of Parliamentary Reform; but they dare not take part against it; their readers are all for it; but, if they saw any hope of preventing it, or of marring and disfiguring it, and rendering it of no use; if they saw any prospect of that, they would tack about immediately, and do as Dr. Black did a twelvemonth ago, or thereabouts, ridicule the idea of a House of Parliament really chosen by the people. Therefore, the moment they saw the Minister out of place, no matter from what cause, they would bustle about and get ten thousand good reasons for turning him out. It is a perfidious crew; a crew never to be trusted. For these reasons Lord GREY has no means of securing his reputation other than that of a letter publicly addressed to the King; telling him the cause of quitting him; telling him the state of his people; and thus leaving him to carry on his affairs with the assistance of those who are the enemies of Reform.

Whether Sir HERBERT TAYLOR and the members of the family of SAXE-MEININGEN and SAXE-COBOURG would turn up their noses and sneer at such a letter, I cannot say, but I know well what sort of feelings it would produce in the bosoms of Englishmen; I know well, that all that the infamous press could do would never be able to counteract it; and that, in fact, the infamous press itself would be compelled to fall in on its side; and that we should have the letter of LORD GREY to the King for our guide in our future exertions. The letter should be, as I said before (and I do beseech LORD GREY to think of it betimes), full and clear and strong: it should give a strong picture of the waste and luxury of those who live on the public money, and of the misery of those who earn that money by their labour. It should, in short, be a full-length picture of the whole of this monstrous Boroughmongering system. I, for my own part, look forward to seeing this done. LORD GREY said, the other night, that he was resolved to *stand or fall* by the Bill. He need not have put in the word *fall*;

neither KING nor HERBERT TAYLOR, nor any-body else, can make him fall, if he stand by the Bill. Let him carry the Bill with him out of office: let him hold up the Bill in his hand as he retires from the Treasury; let him do this, and he must be brought back to office again immediately, or the country will be in a state of utter confusion. The tax-eaters and Boroughmongers ask you *what the people will do* if the King persist in refusing to dissolve the Parliament if they reject the Bill of Lord Grey; in other words, what the people will do if the King turn Lord GREY out with this Bill in his hand? Not what they will *say*; but what they will *DO*? Will they come in person, and besiege the King in his palace; or will they go to the Parliament House, and exercise physical force there? I should suppose neither of these. Well, then, say the tax-eaters, let them *cry* and *pray* till doomsday. Yes, boroughmongers, but there is another way, or rather, other ways, of proceeding. People can do something besides commit *acts of violence* and *cry* and *pray*. They can, without any violence, and also without either *crying* or *praying*, *request the tax-gatherer to call again* for the money that he may want to send up to pay the Dowager Countess, mother of the Duke of Wellington, with, or to pay Herbert Taylor his salary, or, indeed, to pay any of them, or for any-thing. Now, it is no crime to tell the *tax-gatherer to call again*; aye, and *again too*! We know, that Sir GODFREY WEBSTER has declared that, if this Bill do not pass, he will suffer *his goods to be taken away by the tax-gatherer*. Several persons have declared the same; and it is well known that whole parishes in London had taken this resolution before the change of Ministry took place. However, let us hope that *the Bill will pass*, and that all temporary ill-will respecting it will speedily cease. If the King, as I hope is the case, has been *misrepresented* in those articles extracted by me, I shall, with great delight, hasten to do him most ample justice.

WM. COBBETT.

STATE OF IRELAND.

THE poverty of the Sister Kingdom will, at length, compel attention to be paid to it. On Wednesday, the 30th of March, on the proposition of Ministers for advancing sums on security for repayment, in order to provide employment in the distressed districts of Ireland, a speech was delivered by Mr. Leader, at so late an hour in the morning as to prevent any thing beyond a mere outline from appearing in the morning papers of the following day. It contains, however, some particulars, respecting the condition of Ireland, which, from the experience of the speaker, are well entitled to attention. After dwelling on the advantages which former loans had conferred on the country, Mr. Leader proceeded to observe:—

"Sir, the instalments may be small, but still the advantage of the proposed measure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is, that a national loan-fund is created, which will enable those intrusted with its management to take care that those districts of Ireland, which from accidental causes may require small temporary relief through the medium of employment, shall, on security, be always certain of obtaining it. I consider this measure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer calculated to be of great utility; and having given that opinion, I should have closed with that observation, if the hon. Members for Newark and Boroughbridge had not, I am satisfied with most excellent intentions to Ireland, zealously and fairly submitted—that measures of a very different character were absolutely necessary for the relief and tranquillity of that country. These two hon. gentlemen, along with other gentlemen, have fearlessly declared that a provision for the Irish poor cannot be longer delayed or evaded.

"I hold in my hand a paper which I received this day from Ireland containing a letter from a highly-informed and educated gentleman addressed to the Marquis of Anglesey, in which he says that though the bones and muscles of the Irish peasantry fertilise the fields, create the national wealth, and provide funds for rents and taxes and tithes, yet that peasantry, who produce everything, consume nothing; and that, unless measures, the most prompt and energetic, are adopted to improve the condition of the Irish labourer, and to furnish him with regular employment so as to enable him to procure comfortable food and decent raiment, Ireland will become a wilderness; and he fears, ere long, a country in which no person could happily reside. In that letter it is asserted that the war of poverty against property has already commenced—that formerly it was the war of religion, or the war of political opinion; but that it is now unhappily the war of gaunt famine, leading to desperation, and striving for an improved existence.

"I confess I fear that this description of the country is too true a delineation of its

present condition, and that it is well calculated to confirm many gentlemen in the opinion of the necessity of introducing a provision for the poor in Ireland. On this subject I allow there is a great discrepancy of opinion. I admit at once that it is my firm and conscientious belief that the frightful evils of a desolating absenteeism, and the immense drain for the payment of the interest of millions advanced on the security of landed property, are the causes of the great distress which exists in Ireland. I admit that the Irish absentees are probably amongst the first class of landed proprietors in Europe; and that a country which produces an annual stock of wealth from the produce of her own soil, cannot be in a sound or healthy state whilst loans of money are requisite to be raised in another country to be remitted to that country to discharge the functions of capital. When I make this admission, I beg gentlemen will consider, that even if the proprietors of great estates in Ireland remained at home, still the rental of the country is small, and the population very great. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few is in every country accomplished at the expense of the many, inasmuch as each community possesses only a certain amount of property. When these masses of wealth are reinstated where they are collected, the evils are mitigated; but when these masses are taken out of this country, a general disorganization of society is the unavoidable result. Sir, while I am favourable to any measure which will retain the wealth which a country produces in that country for its ultimate improvement, be assured that it is impossible for any individual to proceed with greater care or caution than I am disposed to do in endeavouring to effect so important a purpose. I am one of those who like to draw from authorities which are venerated for their intelligence and worth, and from legislative enactments, where I can find them, authorities in favour of, and precedents which are in point for, measures which may be considered calculated to relieve the distresses of my country; and I avow that the recommendation of Dr. Woodward, the bishop of Cloyne, published 60 years ago, and then submitted to the consideration of the Parliament of Ireland, always appeared to me highly deserving the most serious consideration of such persons as were disposed to pay attention to the affairs of Ireland. That eminent and distinguished scholar and divine laid down these principles:—

"' That the poor are so inadequately provided for by voluntary contributions in Ireland, as to stand in need of some legal title to a maintenance.

"' That it is the indispensable duty of the rich to grant to the poor some competent provision; and

"' That it is eminently the interest of the commonwealth that this duty be discharged in a suitable manner.'

"These were the principles of an Irish Protestant bishop, Dr. Woodward, sixty years ago, and are the principles of a Catholic Irish bishop, Dr. Doyle, an eminent divine and distinguished writer, at the present moment. It was said by Dr. Woodward, sixty years ago—

"That the lower class of the people of Ireland are ill accommodated with lodging, raiment, and even food; and that their poverty is likely to continue with but little mitigation, from the following, amongst other causes:—the exorbitant rent extorted from the poorer tenants, ever loth and afraid to quit their ancient habitations; by the general method of letting farms to the highest bidder, without any allowance for a tenant right; the oppression of duty-work, which calls the cottager arbitrarily from the tillage of this little spot which he holds at so dear a rent; and the low rate of wages for labour; these circumstances, combined with some others, reduce the Irish cottager below the peasant of almost every country in Europe. Such is his hard condition in the most plentiful season, and in the prime of his health and strength: what, then, must be his state in time of dearth, under the pressure of years, infirmities, or even a very numerous young family? His expenses admit of no retrenchment; he is a stranger to luxury, or even to decent accommodation, and yet his wages seldom afford any reserve. On the death of such a father of a family, dependent on his labour for their main or perhaps entire support, how forlorn must be the situation of his widow and orphan children! It would shock a tender mind to imagine (if imagination could paint) the miseries to which the bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland are continually exposed by the slightest reverse of fortune. By a single bad season; by an accidental loss; by an occasional disease, and even by the gradual decay of nature, these evils exist in a great, although not equal number, and cannot be doubted or denied by any but those who shut their eyes or steel their hearts against them."

"These were the words of an Irish Protestant bishop, addressed to an Irish Parliament sixty years ago, and to a parliament which actually commenced legislating at his instance, and on his recommendation. These sentiments have, I candidly admit, always left a deep impression on my mind, as well deserving most serious consideration. Dr. Woodward contemplated the creation of a fund for supporting destitute children, providing the sick poor with medicine, and the aged poor with a small fund in aid of their labour. Doctor Woodward likewise proposed a regular contribution of one per cent. on all property, to make such provision for the poor as would take away all imputation of neglect or injustice. The gentleman (Dr. Grattan), an extract from whose letter to the Marquis of Anglesey I read to the House, certainly goes farther than Bishop Woodward, for he is for creating a national loan-fund by the imposition of a tax, not upon

income, but upon actual property of every description, increasing in a ratio proportioned to the property of the individual, so that those who have a larger property shall pay a higher poundage than those whose property is smaller; the entire produce of the tax to be expended in Ireland for the purpose of providing regular employment for the poor, and encouraging undertakings of useful and productive labour.

"Sir, I have not ventured to lead, but I have humbly presumed to follow and support public opinion in Ireland on these important topics. Every one knows how easily the able-bodied peasant disposed to work, and who cannot obtain the means of subsistence, is reduced to a condition as bad as that which proceeds from age or even infirmity. In my opinion, it ought to be a favoured measure to extend employment, even at the lowest rate of wages, to the working poor of Ireland; it may be said to be the religion of the Irish people, for the young and hearty labourer of every family to support the aged and infirm of his family. I do not say that the Irish peasant ought not to be relieved of this burden, but I say it is a burden he is willing to endure when he can obtain employment.

"I will support the national loan-fund in aid of public works in Ireland, as proposed by the noble Lord, as I will every other measure calculated to extend employment in Ireland, whether it be by grant, by loan, by assessment, by labour-rate, or by poor-laws. I, for one, will never differ about the mode in which the fund is raised, or the name which is bestowed upon it. As an incipient measure, this proposed measure of the noble Lord is entitled to my most warm and hearty concurrence; it precludes no other project being resorted to in aid of the same principle, and it lays the foundation of a system which I trust will prove, as I am confident the noble Lord and his Majesty's Ministers intend it should prove, the means of extending employment to the people of Ireland, without the smallest injury to Great Britain; and answer a most beneficial purpose, until measures of a more extensive nature may be carried into execution for ensuring the peace and improvement of Ireland."

(From the Clare Journal.)

We are tired of detailing outrages: from the serving of notices and turning up ground to the crimes of housebreaking, searching for arms, and murder, are now of daily occurrence. Such outrages are committed in the full blaze of day! Saturday and Sunday the roads in every direction round Ennis were crowded with people, and houses were entered and arms taken away in the most public and undisguised manner. We are convinced that there is scarcely a man now in the county possessed of any property, who considers himself or his family in safety. In very many instances the men of property are obliged to do the duty of herds on the farms upon which they reside, and attend to the watering and foddering of their stock. This is the situation

in which this county at this moment is placed, when the representative of his Majesty comes amongst us. We have no objection, far from it, to the pointing out of remedies, to prevent the recurrence of such scenes of devastation and bloodshed. There is no disguising the fact, that the *most oppressive charges* have been made upon the people; that there have been prices laid upon ground that the ingenuity of man could not accomplish the payment of, without a sacrifice of labour and property. But what then? Suppose it quadrupled, it should *not be given as an excuse or palliation*. If so, it will amount at once to a *justification of the crimes committed*.

(From the *Dublin Evening Mail*.)

ATTACK ON THE RESIDENCE OF SIR JOHN BURKE.—Extract of a letter, dated Loughrea, Galway, April 5:—“This day, at two o’clock, a party of upwards of five thousand insurgents, many of them well armed, proceeded to the house of Sir John Burke, one of the members of the county, where they smashed all the doors and windows, and took away 13 stand of arms, with a quantity of ammunition. They next proceeded to Mr. Whyte’s, a farmer of great respectability in the neighbourhood, and turned up all his pasture land. They then proceeded to the house of Captain Brunskell, a magistrate of the county, broke all the gates on his farm, attacked his house, and demolished the doors, windows, &c. Having gained admission, they took his arms, and not content with this, they destroyed all the furniture in the house. They fired into the room where his family were, and severely wounded his son and daughter. Captain Brunskell was absent at the time, attending the Assizes at Galway.”

At a late hour this day (Wednesday), we received, says *The Limerick Chronicle*, an account of many new outrages in the counties of Clare and Galway. Galway, it is to be lamented, is sinking deeper in crime every day.

EXECUTION OF JAMES AND ALEXANDER STEWART.—DREADFUL ACCIDENT.—These unfortunate but guilty men underwent the utmost sentence of the law, at the front of Lifford jail, on Saturday evening last, in the presence of not fewer than 12,000 persons. At four o’clock the culprits appeared in white robes, and seemed quite penitent, but made no public confession. James died without a struggle; but, melancholy to relate, the rope by which Alexander was suspended broke, and he was precipitated to the pavement, from a height of forty feet. He fell with the side of his head on his own coffin, which was broken, and rebounded off it a few feet. Two officers carried him into the gaol apparently dead, but in about twenty minutes he walked out to the drop more firmly than before, to the great astonishment of the spectators, and a new rope having been fixed, he was launch-

ed into eternity. The rope having shifted under his chin, he suffered dreadfully, and he several times put his feet to the wall and pushed himself from it with great force; his clothes burst open, and the blood was seen flowing from the wound which he had received in the cheek in the fall. At length his hands fell—his body was seen to stretch—and he hung motionless beside his brother.

We extract from *The Dublin Evening Post* of Thursday last, the following observations on the excesses in the counties of Clare and Galway:—

“There is no law and no authority to which the least regard is paid. The Catholic Clergy had exerted themselves at the commencement of these disturbances; but not only have their exhortations been disregarded, but the lessons of intimidation which they had been taught for other purposes have been practised on the Clergy, and they were told at their peril to interfere with the people. The latter, indeed, appear to have studied another lesson, promulgated with great force and perseverance, namely, the use of those rough tactics which are sometimes, though seldom, found to be so beneficial in annoying a regular army. They have studied the use of missiles—they understand the advantages of presenting themselves in masses occasionally, and of dispersing at the approach of a regular force. But, notwithstanding all the idle talk which has been expended on this kind of warfare, all history shows that in the end it is totally useless against a disciplined army. Against police, however—against scattered parties of constabulary—against farmers and country gentlemen—for all purposes, in short, of internal and aimless disturbance, the plan is a good one, and has, we see, been deplorably successful in the county of Clare.

“But the operations of the system have not been confined to this county. It has passed the border, and the southern parts of the county of Galway have been made the scene of, if possible, more daring outrage. The house of Sir John Burke, of Marble-hill, one of the Members for the county, and during the late election, be it remembered, the popular member, has been ransacked and plundered. All the arms in the house have been taken away by a mob of five thousand men in the middle of the day; the windows, the furniture, and the looking-glasses, smashed to atoms. Visits of a similar kind were paid to other gentlemen in the neighbourhood, so that this part of the county of Galway is in a state of more frightful alarm, if possible, than even Clare itself. While these proceedings are going on in a distant part of the county, the Judges of Assize are sitting in Galway, and the Lord Lieutenant himself is on the point of entering the county.

“None will pretend, we suppose, that these disturbances arise from what are vulgarly called *political causes*. We have not the slightest doubt, indeed, that the late agitation has unsettled the minds of the peasantry, and

it did those of the trades in Dublin, and the towns in the interior. But the agitation might whistle to the winds, if the condition of the people were not diseased to the core. Means, we are aware, have been taken to render Sir John Burke unpopular, because he had too much pride to lend his name to the agitation. But we do not believe that the honourable Baronet owes the injury he has suffered to this source. At all events, the faction—we mean the Blues—will scarcely attribute this outrage to Popish disloyalty. Sir John is himself a Roman Catholic, and throughout the entire of these disturbances, it is truth incontrovertible, that no distinction whatever has been taken by the insurgent peasantry between Protestants and Catholics.

“What, then, is the cause of those frightful scenes? Alas! we have not far to seek. The peasantry are, in many instances, ground to the dust by rack-rents, and they have been most cruelly and scandalously neglected. They have risen, like the slaves in Martinique, on those they consider their oppressors; but they speedily lost sight of all distinctions, and friend and enemy, Protestant and Catholic, are alike made the victims of their revenge.

“What is the remedy? They must be *put down in the first place*. There is *no second or middle course*. After this Whiteboy Insurrection is subdued—and that it will be, ere many months, there can be no doubt—Parliament must adopt measures of *severe justice and common prudence*. It must provide legal provision for the poor. It must make it the interest of the landlord to look to his tenantry. It must compel the proprietary to raise a fund for the purposes of emigration. It must tax the estates of the absentee landlords. For it is monstrous that the people of England should keep an army of 5,000 men in Clare, in order to protect the property of Lord Egremont, for instance, or other absentee landlords. There are many other measures which must be adopted, and the country knows that the Marquess of Anglesea is resolved to exert all his powers to promote some, if not all the objects we have mentioned.”

This is not a quarrel about religion, but about the right to exist. Shame, shame, on the unfeeling Oligarchy of England, that we should be reduced to the alternative of allowing a country to become the theatre of the most dreadful anarchy, or slaughtering the unfortunate wretches whom misgovernment has driven to despair!

ENVY AND ADMIRATION.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,—In answer to the letter of Sir Edward Sugden, I beg in the mean time to observe, first, that the references regarding the purchase of the property at Weymouth, and the expenses of his Elections, are not all paid. On the contrary, they form the subject of the suit

between Mr. Gordon and myself, Mr. Gordon being liable for them under his agreement to return Sir Edward Sugden free of expense. The expenses which Sir Edward Sugden states he has already paid, I presume, are included in the 2,000*l.* mentioned in the memorandum in Sir Edward’s hand-writing, as “2,000*l.* to pay off old bills,” and for which Sir Edward granted his personal security. By that memorandum it was stipulated that at the next Elections after 1828, Sir Edward Sugden should pay, if returned, 1,000*l.*, which he did on being appointed Solicitor-General in 1829; and at the following General Election, in 1830, he paid the remaining 1,000*l.* By the same document it was stipulated, that if Sir Edward Sugden should retire, and another person should be returned for his seat, that other person should pay the 2,000*l.* of old bills.

2. The following memorandum in Mr. Gordon’s hand-writing was delivered to Sir. E. Sugden, and remained some time in his possession, and was afterwards returned to me, and Mr. Gordon got it from me along with others of the documents which he still retains:—“Lieut.-Colonel Gordon offers to return Mr. Sugden free of expense for Weymouth, so long as he may require a seat. Mr. Sugden allowing Colonel Gordon to sell two of the three remaining seats; he also, with Lords Grantham and Goderich, will use his best endeavours to obtain a peerage for Lieut.-Colonel Gordon; Mr. Weyland (husband of Lady Johnston) to be excluded from the borough.” In Mr. Gordon’s defence in Scotland, he admits the existence of the document, but contends it is misrepresented. It is, however, sufficiently plain to speak for itself, and I call upon him publicly to produce it. I will, however, prove its contents, so far as Sir Edward Sugden alludes to it, by collateral evidence. First, as to Sir Edward Sugden being returned free of expense, and Mr. Gordon being allowed to sell the two remaining seats. This is proved by the following memorandums in Sir Edward Sugden’s hand-writing:—“The arrangement between Colouel Gordon and Mr. Sugden is as follows:—Colonel Gordon is to buy of Messrs. Henning and Horsford their free-holds, and the conveyance is to be taken in the joint names of Colonel Gordon and Mr. Sugden as purchasers, but Mr. Sugden is to hold as a trustee only for Colonel Gordon. Mr. Sugden is to be returned free from expense as long as he requires a seat, and the other seats are to be disposed of as Colonel Gordon thinks proper.

E. B. S.

“LINCOLN’S-INN, DECEMBER 6, 1828.—I hereby declare that the purchase made in Weymouth of Messrs. Henning and Horsford, was, although concluded in the joint names of Colonel Gordon and myself, made for him solely, and the 21,000*l.* was his money, and I am trustee for him, but I am to have the benefit of my seat according to the arrangement between Mr. Fraser on the part of Colonel Gordon and myself.—Edward B. Sugden.”

And by Sir E. Sugden's letter to me of the 28th of September, 1828, in which he says, " My dear Sir,—I suppose that you had not received my last. If you see Colonel Gordon before you come to town, I should like him to state in writing what he considers the arrangement between us to be, as to the payment of the part we mentioned (not including the 500*l.*) of the late expenses out of the produce of the next elections, and as to my being returned." Secondly, as to Mr. Gordon's peerage, I never stated that Lords Grantham and Goderich undertook to procure a peerage for Mr. Gordon. All I said was that he represented, both verbally and in writing, that such was the understanding with Sir Edward Sugden, and which will be seen by the memorandum before called for. Mr. Gordon's letter to Lord Wallace, his defence to my summons, and his letters to me, of which the following are copies, are demonstrative that he was seeking a peerage. " In the *Edinburgh Courant* newspaper of the 25th current, I observe advertised a small octavo volume, entitled *The Political Primer, or Road to Public Honours*. I don't like to commission it myself, but wish you would procure me a copy, and send it by Aberdeen by the first private opportunity."—" If the steady and zealous support which my predecessors and I have always given the Ministers of his Majesty's present Government, and the increased support which, in future, I shall have it in my power to give them, is not enough, without the addition of 40,000*l.* to put me on a level with other candidates for royal favour, I will remain as I am, and trust to the chapter of accidents, rather than throw so large a sum of money so unprofitably away."

Thirdly, Sir Edward Sugden was Mr. Gordon's counsel in all matters relating to the Johnstone affairs, as well as others, which is proved by the accompanying list of fees paid to him in the year 1829, none of which were returned by Sir E. Sugden.

JAMES J. FRASER.

London, April 8.

FEES PAID TO SIR E. B. SUGDEN.

	£.	s.	d.
30th April, 1829—Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon of Cluny, per Richard Weyland, Esq. and Lady Johnstone, Mr. Sugden's special retainer.....	1	3	6
10th May, 1829—Ditto for his sister, Mrs. Dalrymple, fees.....	{ 2	4	6
27th June 1829—Ditto against Dalziel, retainer.....	1	3	6
1st July 1829—Ditto against Robly, fees	8	13	0
	Ditto against ditto...	2	9
11th of July, 1829—Ditto for his sister, Mrs. Dalrymple, fee.....	3	5	6
17th August, 1829—Ditto for ditto, fee	2	4	6
	Ditto for ditto, fee	2	9
26th December, 1829—Ditto per Stair, fees.....	{ 5	10	0
	{ 2	9	6

REFORM BILL: Proposed alterations to be made in it /

THESE words are fearful ; but they mean *no harm* ; they mean nothing injurious to the people, but, on the contrary, advantageous to them. The alterations relate to two points ; FIRST, as to particular boroughs, which ought to have retained one or two members, on account of their population, which population has been misstated, and is now found to be greater than it was thought to be : SECOND, which is of more importance, it is intended to make the whole number of members 658, instead of 600, giving to England its whole number, and, of course, giving representatives to more of our towns, particularly agricultural towns, or to the counties. I am glad of this alteration : every gentleman that I conversed with on the bill, at its first appearance, will recollect that I said, that its only faults were, that it diminished the number of English members, and did not give members enough to the counties.— This being a matter of such great importance, I shall here insert the debate upon it in the Commons, on the 12th instant. Pray read the whole of it with attention ; and do look at the figure which the PRESTON COCK made in it ! When I have inserted the debate, I shall offer some remarks on it.

Lord ENCOMBE said, that before the Easter recess he had called the attention of the House to the necessity of having laid before them new and more perfect returns of the population of the different boroughs in England that were likely to be affected by the Reform Bill. Certain papers had, he observed, been produced, but they did not appear to have been drawn up on any satisfactory system. In some instances the population of the parish, in others the population of the borough, was given; and certain notes which were appended to the returns of 1821 were omitted. Now, though in the hurry of making up the documents which had been first submitted to Parliament, those notes had been left out, it was not fit that they should be omitted in those that were subsequently produced. He therefore wished to know on what ground it was that the new return was called a corrected return.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, he should be most happy to give his noble Friend every information in his power, with reference to those re-

turns, and the basis on which they were founded. Ministers had endeavoured to procure as correct a return as possible of the population of each city and borough which sent Members to Parliament. That return was made out at the Home Office; and, as soon as it was obtained, a letter was addressed from the Home Office to the returning officer of each borough, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the limits of the borough continued the same as they were at the time of taking the population return in 1821. The sum of the information thus received, which was not altogether very accurate, was to be laid before the House in a separate paper. The papers to which the noble Lord alluded were corrections of the population returns of 1821, so far as had been required, stating merely, in the first and second line, the population, sometimes of the borough, and sometimes of the parish. All that was to be found in that book of the population, with respect to particular places, had been made use of; and therefore the noble Lord would find, in the line of observations, many of those remarks which were contained in the notes to which he had referred. The letters which had been received from the parties thus applied to, and which would be laid before the House, were now in the course of being printed. Ministers had selected from the population return everything that regarded each particular borough, the more especially, in consequence of the notice which had been taken of the borough of Calne, in order, as far as it was possible, to come to a just and proper determination, and to place each particular borough on its due footing. Any memorial coming from any particular place, and complaining of inaccuracy in the existing population return, would be anxiously attended to by his Majesty's Ministers. He thought it right to state this, because he believed the fact was not generally known to the parties interested. (Hear, hear.) Ministers had also felt it to be their duty to consider well the petitions presented to the House on this point. There were, then, four data, on which they meant to proceed in ascertaining the number of inhabitants in different boroughs:—1. The original population returns;—2. The corrected population returns;—3. Memorials laid before the Secretary of State, by persons well known, complaining of inaccuracy in the existing returns;—and, 4. The petitions presented to the House on this subject. Carefully looking to all the documents, Ministers hoped that they should be able to make an efficient correction, with reference to the places contained in the schedules A and B; so that a fair and equal course should be adopted with respect to the different boroughs concerned. He now begged leave to mention an instance or two, to show the way in which this would be done, and how information, which was at present deficient, might be enlarged and finally acted on. There was now before the House a petition from the burgesses of Buckingham, show-

ing very clearly that certain parts of the town of Buckingham were not contained, as they ought to have been, in the population return; and which, if added to the existing return, would, they believed, raise the population to 3,000. The whole of this statement was so particular and so clear, that it contained, in his opinion, sufficient reasons for taking the borough of Buckingham out of the schedule A. Again, with respect to the borough of Truro, a memorial had been presented to the Secretary of State, which would also be laid before the House, showing, in like manner, that the whole population of the town of Truro was not fairly represented in the returns of 1821. On the other side, a memorial had been presented from the town of Guildford, stating that it contained a greater number of inhabitants than was set forth in the returns. That document averred that some streets which ought to have been included in the returns were omitted. The memorialists did not, however, state what part of the town those streets were situated in, neither did they say what was the total amount of the population, according to their view, in 1821. Under these circumstances, unless some other petition was presented to the House, or a different or more explicit memorial was laid before the Secretary of State, it would be quite impossible to omit Guildford from the schedule B. He mentioned this to show to the House on what grounds he meant, on Monday next, to remove from the schedule any borough which could make out a proper case. He thus gave notice to such boroughs as could make out a clear case that their population had been under-rated, and that they contained more than 2,000, or more than 4,000 inhabitants, in 1821, in order that they might apply, in proper form, to the House. With respect to taking the population, in relation to the borough or parish, Ministers thought it right to adopt the same rule with regard to all boroughs; because, in many places, it was impossible to distinguish the borough from the parish, especially when the parish bore the same name as the borough. There were one or two other points on which we wished to say a few words. The whole bill had, during the recess, been maturely considered by his Majesty's Ministers. They had examined it most attentively, to see whether they could make any improvement in it. With regard to the wording of the bill, considerable alterations had been made, but nothing whatever had been done to alter the principle of the measure as it had been originally laid down. (Hear, hear.) In substance, three or four points, of no importance as to principle, but all of importance as to particulars, were altered: and these he would explain in detail on Monday next. He was ready to explain those points at the present moment, but he thought it would be more expedient to do so on Monday. There were three or four notices of instruction to the committee on the paper, which it was

right to say had been under the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers. One of those instructions related to continuing the right to vote, under certain restrictions, to persons who might have acquired that right by birth or servitude. Now, without going so far as that instruction went, the question would receive that determination by which Ministers hoped to reconcile that which was due to justice and equity with the essential principle of the bill. (Hear, hear.) With regard to another, and a much more important, part of the measure,—namely, the number of which that House should consist—he could not deny that while many persons represented themselves as favourable to the bill, they objected to having the number of Members reduced. (Hear, hear, hear.) The Government, however, looking to the whole subject, with reference to the advantage of the public interests, and to the prompt and speedy execution of the public business in that House, were persuaded that a reduction of Members would considerably assist in attaining those desirable objects. But at the same time they were not prepared to say that this was a question of such essential and vital importance, that if the feeling of the House were strongly shown in a desire to keep up the present number, they might not be induced to relax their determination on that point. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and gallant General had referred to many details of the bill, and he had no fault to find with the hon. and gallant General for any criticism which he might offer on the measure, because he had for some time past expressed himself favourable to plans of reform. He therefore listened with every kind of respect to the suggestions of the hon. and gallant General, which were certainly worthy of consideration. But while he said this, he wished to terminate his observations by distinctly declaring, that with respect to all that was essential to the principle of the bill, his Majesty's Government saw no reason whatever to alter the determination which they originally came to (hear, hear); but, on the contrary, from what they daily and hourly heard and saw, they were more and more convinced, that the principle was eminently calculated to promote the liberty, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) An hon. Baronet, it appeared, wished to keep up the whole of the existing boroughs. To such a proposition as that, Ministers could never agree. They had, he thought, adopted a safe and a wise course, by continuing such boroughs as had a certain degree of importance attached to them, and doing away with those who were the most insignificant and inconsiderable.

Sir E. B. SUGDEN said, the statement which had just been made by the noble Lord, proved the justice of what he (Sir Edward) had observed on a former occasion, when he asserted that it would be impossible to proceed with the existing population returns. He now

found that it was intended to restore some of the boroughs originally marked out for disfranchisement or partial disfranchisement. This arose from the extreme imperfection of the information which had been laid before them, and, if they proceeded in this way, they might, in the end, alter the whole scope and tenour of the Bill. He should be very sorry to say any-thing harsh with respect to Ireland, but he certainly did object to raising the number of representatives for that country, and the more especially in conjunction with the lowering of the number of representatives for England. (Hear.) Let them look to the act of Union, and he would ask, was not that question most fully considered? Was it not then decided that 100 members was the largest number which Ireland was to have in the Imperial Parliament? When they took representatives from one part of England and gave them to another he could perfectly comprehend that species of legislation. But he could not understand why a portion should be taken from the English representation generally, and given to the Irish representation. Ministers had over and over again declared that they would stand or fall by the Bill which they had originally introduced. Now, however, he found that they wished to alter it. This clearly showed, as he had formerly observed, that they had not brought forward their plan with that due consideration which ought to belong to so important a measure. (Hear.)

General GASCOYNE said, that he was really a friend to safe and prudent Reform at all times; and he was glad to hear that the suggestions which had fallen from him and others with respect to this Bill, would be taken into consideration. He could not, although he was a friend to economy, go quite so far as the hon. Member for Middlesex wished to go, and though he was favourable to reform, he could not proceed to the extent meditated by this Bill.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, he seemed to have been misunderstood by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. Ministers had not altered their minds on the subject of the number of representatives. What he said was, that if it should appear to be the sense of the House that the whole number of 658 Members should be retained, the Government would not feel that they were altering a vital or essential part of the measure by agreeing to that proposition. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the number of representatives for England, Ireland, and Scotland, he denied that that question was finally fixed at the period of the union. At the time of the union with Scotland it was proposed by the Scotch that they should have 50 Members: the English commissioners wished to reduce the number to 38; but finally the compromise was 45. But it was not stipulated that no change should be admitted under any circumstances.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the gallant General always declared the great regard he felt for

Ireland; but, in truth, he had a very odd way of showing it. The hon. and learned Gentleman had informed them, that the question of the number of representatives was definitively settled at the time of the union. The contrary was the fact; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman would look into the act of union, he would find there an express provision, with a view to some alteration to be hereafter made. They had no right, he contended, to treat this part of the subject, as the hon. and learned Gentleman had done, as if it were an abstract question. Was there not, he asked, an identity of interest between the two countries? (Hear, hear.) He could see no reason why they should not deal with Ireland, an integral part of the empire, as they would deal with Yorkshire. If the hon. and learned Gentleman treated this as an English subject, he certainly had an equal right to treat it as an Irish subject. He could see no reason whatever why, in considering this question, the large population of Ireland ought not to be taken into the account.

Sir E. B. SUGDEN denied that he had ever said, or thought, that there was no identity between England and Ireland.

Mr. G. BANKES wished to ask the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) whether it was the intention of Government to press the bill into a committee on Monday next. After what the noble Lord had announced of his intention of making a statement on Monday, to point out how those boroughs might act in whose case the returns made were erroneous, it would, he thought, be altogether inconsistent to press it on till the boroughs could avail themselves of the opportunity thus to be offered to them. The alterations now proposed by the noble Lord were the natural results of that secrecy with which the measure had been kept. If Ministers had intimated their intentions, they would have acquired information on the subject; but they were acting in the dark, and the House now saw the result.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, the hon. Member was altogether mistaken in supposing that he had promised any such statement as he mentioned. He had done no such thing. He stated on a former occasion that Ministers had gone, in the proposed disfranchisement, on the population returns of 1821, and he added, that if any material errors were pointed out in those returns, so as to make out a case for any borough, Ministers would be disposed to pay every attention to it, and to correct it. Some returns had been laid on the table, and others were asked for and were ready, to give more correct accounts, of which any borough that could make out a case strong enough to show that it was not properly included, might avail itself.

After a few words in explanation from Lord Bencombe, which were not heard in the gallery,

Lord G. SOMERSET gave notice, that when the bill was in committee, he would move that

members be given to some of the large towns in Lincolnshire (we understood.)

Sir C. FORBES contended, that so far from adding to the prosperity of the country, it would have precisely the contrary effect. What had been its effect in Scotland? Why, from being the happiest people in any part of the British dominions, they had now become the most discontented and irritated, and the country from one end to the other was in a flame.

Mr. HUME.—With the illuminations.

Sir C. FORBES.—The hon. Member said, with the illuminations; but who set those things on? Those who thought they had achieved a great triumph. But see the effect; the damage done in one night in Edinburgh by the mob was estimated at 20,000*l.* The hon. Baronet then went on to describe the attempts made to procure signatures to a petition from Edinburgh, complaining that the bill did not go far enough. The petition was placed in gin-shops, and persons were stationed there who told those who signed, that the effect of the measure would be, that they would have whiskey for nothing; that there would be no gaugers, and that all would be quite free. The petition, which no doubt would come before the House in a short time, signed by some thousands, prayed, he understood, that those who by this bill should be excluded from voting, should also be excluded from the militia, and from the payment of all taxation, direct and indirect; or that if drawn for the militia, they should have the power of choosing their own officers by ballot. This was only a specimen of what they might expect, if, unfortunately for Europe and the world, ministers should succeed in forcing this revolutionary measure on the House. In fact, when the noble Lord introduced this monstrous measure, many members believed that he was only in joke, and he had no doubt that if at that time it had been grappled with, it would have been rejected by a large majority.

Mr. HUME denied that the measure was now a new bill. He should like the bill as it stood, but the change, if change it could be called, went not to the principle of the measure. He owned the conduct of hon. members opposed to the bill was not a little inconsistent. They first complained that part of the bill was founded on returns which were inaccurate, and when Ministers expressed their readiness to correct those returns, or not to allow them to injure boroughs which they would affect, the same hon. gentlemen turned round and said that the bill was a new bill, and objected to it because it corrected the errors of which they complained. His hon. Friend (Sir C. Forbes) was quite mistaken as to what was passing in Scotland. It was beyond a doubt that the people there were in favour of the bill from one end of the country to the other. He admitted that in the Scotch counties, which were as much close boroughs as any of those included in schedule A of the bill, those who hitherto had the monopoly of the franchise were anxious to keep it, but they were but as 1 in 10,000,

compared with those who were favourable to the bill. As to the disturbances in Edinburgh and Dundee, he believed they were chiefly caused by the anti-reformers. But with the exception of those instances, there was nothing in the state of Scotland which could alarm the public mind.

Colonel SIBTHORP congratulated the House on the proposed change in the dress of the bill, which he must say was not a little inconsistent, after what he had stated the other evening, that any alteration would make the measure inefficient. The population returns for some places were wholly erroneous. In Grimsby, for instance, that before the House was 3,064, but a census by the people there made it 4,000: and he hoped that since then some accouchements had added to the population, so as to make it the number which would continue both members for the borough. Though he was glad of the change in the bill, he would not vote for it unless a still greater change were made in it.

Mr. K. DOUGLAS said he had been lately in Scotland, and he could state that the effects produced by the bill there were inconvenient and mischievous. The noble Lord (J. Russell) had said the other day, that the bill could undergo no change, and members were called upon by their constituents to support the measure without any modification; but now the bill was changed in its spirit at least. He could state that the greatest irritation had been produced in Scotland by the bill. He regretted that the proposed alteration had not been made in the bill at a much earlier period.

Mr. HUNT said, they had three statements as to the state of Scotland with respect to this bill, one was, that it was in a flame from one end to the other; another, that Scotland was all joy at it; and a third, that it had been productive of very inconvenient irritation in that country. Now he had been lately in the country, and much amongst the people; and he could tell his hon. Friend (the member for Middlesex), that the people were *not quite so mad* for the bill as he imagined. (*Loud cheers from the Opposition.*) The country had now had time for *reflection*, and there was a *re-action of opinion.* (*Cheers continued from the same side.*) Notwithstanding those cheers from those who he knew would not support his view of the bill, he would state what he knew to be the fact as to the opinion of the people. He had been recently in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, and other populous places, where he was called upon to address the people, and he knew the sentiments of 200,000 of them, and he had not met one man who was left out of the franchise who approved of the measure, and not one who was included who did not approve of it. So that he might say there were 700,000 or 800,000 in favour of the measure, and 7,000,000 or 8,000,000 against it. (*Renewed cheers from the same side.*) Let not those gentlemen who cheered him, imagine that in this he was objecting to the bill: he

would give it *his support.* All he objected to was, that it did not go far enough. If it had extended the franchise to all who paid scot and lot, there would be some principle in it, but here there was none. At the same time he hoped it would pass, for it would make one great inroad into that accursed system which had brought that House into the contempt of every man of common sense, of the whole world. (*Cheers from both sides.*) So far he rejoiced at the measure, but he must own the truth, that a great re-action had taken place in the public mind on the subject of the bill. He had met the people of *Manchester*, of *Birmingham*, of *Bolton*, of *Preston*, and other places, and notwithstanding what fell from the hon. member for Middlesex, that the people were all run mad for joy on the subject, he must say that, with one exception, the people thought they were deluded by it. (*Cheers from the Opposition.*) They thought that they would have got something for themselves by it; that they were going to get meat or clothes cheaper by it; when they found that it would have none of these effects, they were naturally disappointed at the whole measure. He asked the people whom he had met, whether, if they were excluded from the right of choosing representatives for themselves, they would like to have representatives chosen for them by that class of persons which would possess the elective franchise under the noble Lord's Bill,—the 10*l.* voters. They uniformly replied “No!” (*Hear, hear, from the Opposition.*) They said that they would much rather see their representatives chosen by the gentry and the higher classes of society than by that class which was immediately above themselves. (*Hear, hear.*) He had lately received a deputation from the Spitalfields weavers, and he was told by them that they were not now so mad as they had been; they found that they were not to be represented, and they did not, therefore, expect that it would do them any benefit. (*Hear, hear.*)

Colonel DAVIES had listened with pain to the extraordinary speech which had just been delivered. (*Laughter from the Opposition.*) The hon. Member for Preston professed himself to be a reformer, and yet he had done as much as the worst enemy of reform could do against the bill. (“Hear, hear,” and cries of “No, no.”) The hon. Member had told the House that the people were recovering from their frenzy and from their delusion. It was to be hoped that the good people of Preston, at least, had recovered from their delusion. They fancied that they had sent a reformer to Parliament; but they would now find that that reformer was doing every-thing in his power to defeat reform. (*Hear, hear.*) He would inform the honourable Member of the remarks, not heard, perhaps, by the hon. Member himself, which were made upon his speech in his neighbourhood. (Colonel Davies and Mr. Hunt both sit on the Opposition side of the House.) Some gentlemen

sitting around him thought that speech "*the best which had been made against reform*," and others had said that, "*it had done more for their cause, and against reform, than any speech yet delivered.*" (Cheers from the Opposition, and cries of "No, no," from the Ministerial side.) The honourable Member had said that the people of Preston had discovered that they would not have bread, meat, or clothing cheaper in consequence of this measure. If he (Colonel Davies) thought that it would not have the effect of making all those articles cheaper, he, for one, would not vote for it. (Laughter from the Opposition.) By whom had the abominable system of taxation existing in this country, and the enormous establishments which ground down the people, been upheld? The honourable Member for Preston had himself answered the question in 150 speeches which he had made in that House, and had declared that a reform of Parliament was wanted to do away with that system which had so long been the curse of the country. (Hear, hear.) He was convinced that with a reformed Parliament no administration could stand six weeks unless they proposed measures of economy and retrenchment. The honourable Member had said that the people had recovered from their delusion; and that now, when they found they were to receive no benefit from the bill, they were *all to a man against it*. He flatly contradicted that statement—a different feeling pervaded the country. (Hear.) People were to be found, he asserted, who were willing to make sacrifices of the privileges which they held most valuable for what they considered a public benefit. (Hear, hear.) It was impossible for him to sit still, after hearing the hon. Member, who professed to be a reformer, deliver the speech he had done. If the bill now before the House was thrown out, what was to be done then? Did the hon. Member wish to go on from *bad to worse*, until some convulsion took place in the country, when the radicals would get what they wanted—universal suffrage, and annual Parliaments? If that was not the hon. Member's object, he could not conceive for what reason the hon. Member should have made a speech, which had done more to prejudice the measure of Government than any which had yet been delivered. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No.")

An hon. Member denied the accuracy of the statement which had been made, that the whole of Scotland, from one end to the other, was delighted with the Ministerial plan of reform. Every regularly convened county meeting in that country, comprising the property, the intelligence, and respectability of the district, had, with one or two exceptions, passed resolutions, and prepared petitions, expressing their disapprobation of the measure.

Mr. HUNT said, he had been denounced by a gallant Colonel as one of the worst enemies of reform. The gallant officer, however, had not ventured to deny one of his assertions. He

had never disguised his sentiments. He was a reformer, but the particular measure before the House did not come up to his idea of reform. He did not accuse his Majesty's Ministers of having deluded the country, by holding out expectations that their Reform Bill would make bread and clothing cheap; but if they had not, others had. The people had been deluded, but they had discovered their error upon reflection, and *would be deluded no longer*. (Hear, hear.) If the measure was to be what the noble Lord opposite (Lord J. Russell) said it should be, *he then was an enemy to the measure*.

The same subject was revived on the 13th of April, when the following speeches were made. The reader will see that here is PRESTON COCK again! He hangs on to the bill like grim death! One almost sees his teeth fast in the bill, and he back upon his haunches, and pulling with all his might, and *staring and growling* at the same time. Do, pray, reader, first look at Mr. O'Connell's beautiful speech, in answer to SUGDEN; see how he cuts the traffickers! Then look at the STUFF of Preston Cock AGAINST O'Connell! What! could O'Connell offend this wonderful "Radical" by such a powerful attack on the borough-corruptions? Could this give offence to "the great Radical?" Aye did it, and mortal offence; deeper offence than to SUGDEN or to PEEL, or to any of the rest of them; and with reason too. They might, in one shape or another, survive the Reform Bill carried into effect: they might still be something: but he, a political farthing candle, making a decent twinkle in the present state of things, sees in the REFORM BILL, the chambermaid coming with hasty strides, with an *extinguisher in her hand*, and with her *eye fixed on him*! Come, come! It is in human nature to recoil at the manifest approach of *eternal extinguishment*. That doom, that awful sentence, he has constantly before his eyes, and ringing in his ears. Colonel DAVIES and Mr. O'CONNELL will, therefore, see the *real ground* of his opposition to the bill; and, if they act wisely, they will, at once, expose this. This *alteration* in the bill is a subject that ought to be clearly

understood. The alteration *gives up nothing*; but, on the contrary, *adds to the people's privileges*; for it adds to the *number of members that they have to choose*; for all these members are to be given to *populous districts or places*. It is, then, a clear addition to the benefits of the bill. But I shall have more to say on this by and by. Pray, reader, look at the Cock's attack on O'Connell: look at the *nature* of it!

Mr. STANLEY felt himself called on to address a few observations to the House on this question, after what had fallen from the two honourable Members who last addressed them. An opinion, arising from some misapprehension of what the noble Paymaster of the Forces (Lord J. Russell) said yesterday evening, seemed to have gone forth, that it was the intention of the Government to admit of some alterations in the principle of the bill which that noble Lord had introduced to the House. Now he (Mr. Stanley) felt called on to repeat what had been said frequently before—and he regretted much the noble Paymaster was not present to give the assertion the weight of his authority and the sanction of his approval—that it was not the intention of his Majesty's Government in any, *even the slightest, degree to deviate from the broad principles on which the Reform Bill was originally framed*. (Hear.) He repeated, that no deviation from the principle of the measure (and he wished the noble Lord was present to express his entire concurrence in the declaration) either now was, or at any time had been, in the contemplation of his Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) There could not be a greater misconception of the meaning of the noble Lord, than to suppose it was the intention of the Government to deviate in the least from its determination to secure the entire disfranchisement of those boroughs which come beneath a certain boundary line of population, which had been distinctly marked out and explained; and to carry into effect the partial disfranchisement of those other boroughs which are within another boundary, which was also distinctly declared. (Hear, hear.) On that point the Government were resolved there should be no alteration, except what the noble Lord said at the introduction of his bill, and repeated on subsequent occasions, that if any of the boroughs thus included in schedule A and B could prove that they did not come within the rule of population laid down as the boundary in those cases, that those boroughs would, on proving their case, be entitled to exemption from that disfranchisement which must be carried into effect with regard to the others. (Hear.) That the disfranchisement of the boroughs would be carried to its full extent was, however, his entire conviction; and with respect to the numbers of the House, he had only to say,

that if it was determined the number originally proposed should be augmented, that the augmentation would be made good not from any of the boroughs named for disfranchisement, but from conferring a right of representation on other great and important towns, for which claims might be put forth in the event of the House deciding that its numbers should not be so much diminished. (Hear.)

Sir E. SUGDEN confessed that, after what had fallen from the noble Lord last night, he heard the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman, that there was to be no change in the principle of the bill, with considerable surprise. (Hear, hear.) What was the principle of the bill but its details? (Cries of "Oh!" from the Ministerial Bench.) He had listened to the right hon. Gentleman with courtesy, and he expected the same courtesy from him and his colleagues. (Hear.) He repeated, the principle of the bill was to be found in the working of its details. These details, therefore, formed the principle of the bill; and the alteration of any one of them was, he contended, an alteration of the principle. (Hear, hear.) Now, he would beg the House to mark what fell from the right hon. Gentleman in explanation of the declarations of his noble colleague the Paymaster of the Forces. The right hon. Gentleman says, that if the House finds reason to make any alteration with respect to numbers, the additions are to be given to great and populous towns. Was this or was it not an alteration of the principle of the bill? He contended it was a great and important alteration. (Hear, hear.) It overturned the whole of that system of proportion between the landed and manufacturing interests on which the bill had been, it was declared, originally framed, and threw a vast preponderance of influence into the hands of the manufacturers. This change of the original principle would, in fact, draw a line between the two classes, and produce a complete separation, through the working of the provisions, which restricted the future exercise of the franchise, between those two interests which had hitherto been so advantageously united. He repeated, that the bill was now totally changed, and whatever favour this part of the measure had been regarded with would now be taken away. The country would judge between him and the Government. (Hear.) The hon. Member for Preston, who knew something of the opinions of a portion of the people, told them last night that the people were hostile to the bill. He told them that he had taken the opinions of 200,000 of the manufacturers of the North. Those persons thought the bill would give them cheap beer, cheap bread, and higher wages; but when they were told it would give them none of these, they declared themselves at once adverse to the bill. Where, then, was the uneasiness in favour of Reform, which they were told pervaded the country? (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord, when he commenced the changes in the prin-

yesterday evening, mentioned two points which he would further explain to the House on Monday; but he also alluded to a third, which he had not explained, so that something still remained behind. (Hear.) The noble Lord had, however, declared he would not persist in his plans with respect to the disfranchisement of those who enjoyed freedom by servitude. (Hear.) Now, this he (Sir E. Sugden) considered as another abandonment of the principle of the bill (hear)—a violation of all the determinations said to have been taken with respect to the nature of the elective franchise. How, he would ask, was it possible for the House to go into a Committee on the Bill until it possessed some further information on the subject of this and the other alterations which the noble Lord intended to propose? (Hear.) He was satisfied that the Government never intended to cut off the sixty-two Members from the number of the House. It was their object to keep them, as it were, in bank, and to draw on them as they wanted representatives to give to any discontented borough which they might find troublesome in its remonstrances. This was, he was confident, the course that would be pursued. When they were remonstrated with on the injustice of their course, they would probably say to a particular borough of Schedule A, "Oh, don't distress yourself; if we cannot preserve you untouched, we can put you in schedule B;" and so it would go on disposing of the stock of Members, which they kept on hand to gain votes for the bill, and silence opposition. As to the Government declaring in the face of the country that they would stand by the bill—the whole bill—and nothing but the bill, he thought it was too absurd for much observation. They had departed from its principle by abandoning those details which marked the principle; and he was satisfied, that when these declarations went forth to the country the people would be of the same opinion. (Hear.)

Mr. JOHN CAMPBELL expressed his surprise to hear the hon. and learned Member argue against the principle of the bill at the time they were coming to a consideration of the details, and after having found fault with the details at the time he should have considered the principle. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Campbell) contended that the alteration alluded to produced no change in the principle of the bill. The principle, as he understood it, was mainly to put an end to the nomination of Members to that House through the means of rotten boroughs, and that, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley) had expressly declared, was to remain pure and untouched. The schedules A. and B. were to remain entire. (Hear, hear, hear.) The learned Gentleman said, that the alteration of the numbers would destroy the balance between the landed and manufacturing interests; but nothing was more easy than to apportion to each in the Committee that number which would preserve the balance. *The hon. Mem-*

ber for Preston had spoken of the opinions of the people as unfavourable to the bill. He (Mr. Campbell) had also visited various counties since the plan of reform was promulgated, and he could take it on him to say that all classes, rich and poor, were loud in the expression of their approbation. (Hear.) He had attended a meeting of the county of Stafford, in the requisition for which there appeared the names of ten Peers. The meeting was attended by all the wealth and respectability of the county, and by a great number of the lower classes also, and they all concurred in approving of the bill. They might not think the bill would give them *cheaper food or less labour* of itself, but they knew it would give them a better Government, through which they naturally felt confident that their situation would be improved.

Mr. O'CONNELL did not feel the least surprise that those who were interested in the support of the boroughmongering system should catch hold of every pretence for delaying the time of their destruction, and have recourse to any arguments to defeat the measure now before the House. Their exertions, however, would be unavailing. *The fiat had gone forth.* The Government and the people were alike determined to put an end to their traffic; and resistance would be useless. Objections might be taken to minor details; but the great, the paramount object of the people—the destruction of the nomination boroughs—was not to be departed from; and an end was to be put for ever to that execrable system by which the rights of the people were *bartered for place, and justice itself sold* by those who were entrusted with the power to administer it. (Hear.) He did not wonder much that there were men still found who would endeavour to lend their feeble aid in support of that system. And when he found that the bill put an end to all borough patronage, to all purchase of seats, *under promises of obtaining peerages*—to all the practices of those who paid the expenses of one election *out of the proceeds of preceding ones*—practices which have ultimately tainted the administration of justice itself, he was not much astonished at the irritation which some honourable Members displayed when they had occasion to speak of it. The traffic in seats would be put an end to, and the House redeemed from the imputation which now pressed so heavily on the character of its Members.

Mr. HUNT repeated what he had already stated with respect to the *unpopularity* of the Reform Bill among his constituents, and declared that they were almost unanimously in favour of Universal Suffrage in the extreme. (A laugh.) They desired that all the people of England should enjoy the same privilege as they enjoyed themselves. He regretted much to hear the hon. member for Waterford support the bill so strenuously, and depart from the advocacy of the rights of all classes, which had formerly distinguished his conduct. He regretted that that hon. Member had

placed himself in a situation which required him to abandon his principles in that respect. (Hear, and a laugh.) For his part, if, instead of being in *danger of confinement*, he was called on to mount a scaffold, he would not shrink from expressing his opinions.

General GASCOWNE said, it was impossible to go into the committee on the bill until the House came to some better understanding with respect to the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley) and the noble Lord (Russell). The *freemen of Liverpool* were *adverse to the bill*. (A laugh.) He believed there were not twenty out of the five thousand who were not discontented with the change proposed to be made in that town.

Lord ALTHORP said he had not heard the statement of his noble Friend, the Paymaster of the Forces; but he was confident that the noble Lord could not have been rightly understood, when it was supposed he had expressed an intention on the part of the Government to restore the whole number of the members which it was originally proposed to take from the House. (Hear.) Looking at the different schedules, and having examined the returns, with respect to some of the towns contained in them, the Government had satisfied themselves that there were some errors in the calculations, and that it would therefore be necessary to make a slight addition to the number of the members, but there was no intention to depart in the least from the rule they had laid down to themselves and explained—namely, that if inaccuracies could be pointed out which would give ground for exemption from disfranchisement, they were prepared to admit it. By these means the original number would be increased to a certain extent, but not so far as to embrace the whole number which they had thought it fit to take from the House. (Hear.) With respect to this question of numbers, he was bound to say, that the Government had never *considered it to be an essential part of their bill*. They believed it, however, to be a great advantage to diminish the number of the representatives of the House, and they were determined to carry it if they could, although not to the extent they originally intended. Supposing, however, that the House, on consideration, came to a decision not to diminish its members, the Government would not think that such an inroad was made on the principle of the bill as to induce them to throw it out. (Hear, hear.) In that case, they would be prepared to give the additional members to *populous districts* but *in no case to the disfranchised boroughs*, as they would consider that a complete dereliction of the principle which they maintained in the bill.

Lord STORMONT wished to put a question or two to the noble Lord. The noble Lord had spoken of further conferring the right of representation on populous towns; did he also mean to confer it on populous counties? If to towns only, were they to be towns solely in England, or Scotland, or Ireland, or in all three?

Lord ALTHORP said, that what he had stated was this:—That if, after his Majesty's Government had stated the number of members of which they proposed the House to consist, the House, on a division, should decide for a larger number, they would then propose to confer the right of representation on certain populous towns and districts. It was not their spontaneous proposition, but under the circumstances which he had described, they would not object to it. The object of his Majesty's Government in the proposition which they had made, was to endeavour to preserve a just balance between towns and counties. What he had stated of the possibility of extending the right of representation applied principally to England.

Mr. Alderman WOOD said, that the party who were opposed to his Majesty's present administration had expressed the greatest *delight yesterday evening* at the confusion into which they imagined Ministers would be thrown, *by giving way*, as they considered it, on the question of Reform. He, however, could see no confusion; he thought the explanations which had been made were perfectly satisfactory, and that the measure would be *improved by the corrections* which it was proposed to make in it.

Mr. C. FERGUSON said, that as to the principle of proportion in the representation of England and the representation of Scotland, that was put an end to on the union with Ireland. The simple question now was, where representation was most wanted. He confessed that he had not heard any argument to satisfy him that any reduction in the number of the Members of the House was necessary. That was a question, however, which in no way trench'd upon the great principle of the measure. If it should be considered desirable not to diminish the number of the Members of that House, he trusted that the unrepresented state of many important places and districts in Scotland would be considered. There was the city of Perth, for instance. There was the town of Dumfries, containing, with its suburbs, a population of above sixteen thousand souls. There could be no reason why, if the number of the Members of that House was to be kept up, such considerable places should not be represented. Why not add to the number of Scotch counties as well as of Scotch towns represented? At the time of the union of Scotland, Scotland did not contribute above a fiftieth part of the revenue; she now contributes a sixth or seventh part. He should certainly have been satisfied with a more moderate reform had it been proposed; but it was agreed on all hands that some reform was necessary; and from the northernmost part of Scotland to the extremity of Cornwall, it was allowed that the people were not fully represented. As to universal suffrage, did the honourable Member for Preston venture to say that the adoption of such a proposition would make bread less dear? (Yes, from Hunt.) Let the hon. Gentleman point out how. The honourable

Member talked of having personally communicated with two hundred thousand persons, who were dissatisfied with the bill for not going far enough. He (Mr. Fergusson) did not believe that there were two hundred thousand persons in the whole kingdom of that opinion. There, no doubt, were many who thought that it went too far. For his part, he had not heard of any who said the bill was good for nothing, because it did not give universal suffrage. Persons who uttered such an opinion ought not to have the elective franchise in Preston. They were *too ignorant to have it.* Horne Tooke said there were three descriptions of persons who ought not to have the elective franchise; namely, the extremely miserable, the extremely dependent, and the extremely ignorant; to which he added, the *extremely selfish*—a character that evidently belonged to the *friends of the honourable Member for Preston.* He (Mr. Fergusson) was decidedly of opinion that the principle of the bill was approved by the whole population of the empire.

Let us now leave the Preston Cock as *Member of Parliament*, and look at him a little as *travelling patriot*. We heard of him in Somersetshire about the 1st of April. Next, the *Morning Chronicle* of the 6th informs us of his being at Birmingham on the 4th:

BIRMINGHAM, April 4.—Public opinion has rather increased here than diminished, in favour of the Reform Bill. More than a thousand persons have left Birmingham to-day to attend the great county meeting at Warwick. *Mr. Hunt, M.P. for Preston, is here.* He was invited to attend the Warwick meeting, but having *no property in the county*, he, with *proper feeling*, declined. He is on his way to Preston, to visit his constituents. The late hours of the House of Commons do not appear to have agreed with him, for he is very thin, and complains of ill-health. Mr. Hunt's conduct in the House, so contrary to what was expected, has made him a favourite in this neighbourhood.

Next comes (manifestly from himself) a report of his progress to Preston, and back again to Manchester. Pray mark the *audacious lies* in this report. Mark the shuffling about the "medals." If he were going back to Birmingham to pay for the medals, why did he not pay for them as he went down, and take them along with him to Preston? Here follows the report:

THURSDAY EVENING—Mr. Hunt arrived in Manchester to-day, on his return from Preston. The immediate cause of his present journey was this:—Soon after he was returned for Preston, a subscription was en-

tered into in various parts of the country, but particularly in this neighbourhood, for the purpose of having a medal struck to be given to the 3,730 "brave electors" who voted for Mr. Hunt. "The bargain was struck," and so was the medal, by some of the Birmingham manufacturers, and Mr. Hunt set out from London a few days ago, for the purpose of being present at the distribution of the medals. Unfortunately, however, the cost of these was 350*l.*, while the funds in the hands of Mr. Mitchell, of Preston, the treasurer to the subscription, amounted only to 100*l.* Mr. Hunt undertook to supply the deficit, on the faith of being refunded by the reformers of England, whose servant and advocate he avows himself to be. But on his arrival at Birmingham the medals were not forthcoming, and he was obliged to proceed to Preston without them. He appeared before his constituents yesterday, and received a most enthusiastic reception. This morning he addressed the people at Bolton, and then proceeded to Manchester, where he arrived about half-past one o'clock.

He was met about two miles from the town by a procession of his admirers, accompanied by a band of music, and bearing a number of flags, the most remarkable of which was a representation, in very brilliant colours, of an incident which is said to have occurred at the "Manchester massacre," in 1819, when a woman was cut down and severely wounded in the breast by one of the yeomanry. The procession arrived at "Peterloo" about two o'clock, when Mr. Hunt addressed the crowd at considerable length. The number of persons on the field was immense, and were estimated at from 50,000 to 70,000. Mr. Hunt, to use his own expression, "spoke strongly," and his hon. colleagues of the House of Commons came in for a liberal share of his censure and ridicule. The most remarkable topic in his speech was an unqualified condemnation of the Reform Bill, which he denominated as a *conspiracy by the middle and higher classes against the lower*, for the purpose of for ever excluding them from a voice in the representation. He thus described the tendency of the proposed measure. He computed the population of the three kingdoms at twenty-two millions, of whom there were eight millions of male adults. The Reform Bill would give the right of representation to somewhat less than one million of persons, whose incomes he averaged at 150*l.* a year each, or 150,000,000*l.* per ann. This would leave seven millions of people unrepresented, whose income he computed at 12*s.* a week each, or 225,000,000*l.* a year. So that, according to these data, the Reform Bill would confer the representation upon one million of persons, who were worth 150,000,000*l.* a year, and exclude seven millions who were worth 225,000,000*l.* a year. This calculation he had formed to show the degree of respect which was paid to "population and property," which formed the avowed principle upon which it was founded. He said he had given the Reform Bill his support,

simply because *it was a change*, and any change in the present corrupt state of the representation was desirable. He then proceeded to give some illustrations of the system of "law making" observed in the committees of the House of Commons, particularly in disposing of private bills. He then alluded to the subject of the election of members for Manchester. He said Mr. Hugh Birley had been proposed; but rather than permit "Captain Peter Birley, the master butcher of Peterloo," to be returned, *he would have Manchester in ashes*; and instead of fourteen lives being sacrificed, *he would have the best blood in Manchester spilt* before the country should be so much disgraced! He recommended, that at the next election for Wigan, a deputation of 20,000 or 30,000 persons should go thither from Manchester, and exercise the "constitutional influence" of a Lancashire squeeze upon such of the burgesses as could not be induced by more gentle persuasions to vote for Mr. Richard Potter, the man of the people! Mr. Hunt concluded by explaining *the state of the medal subscription*, and by calling on his auditors to make good the deficiency, so that his own pocket might be protected from loss.

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Hunt moved forward in procession to the house of his friend, Mr. Cox, in Dale-street. This evening he met a *more select party* of his admirers at the White Lion, in Hanging Ditch.

He sets out to-morrow morning on his way to Birmingham, *to pay for and release the medals*.

Here we see no signs of multitudes *disapproving of the bill*. He found *nobody* disapprove of the bill. If he did, why not *bring up petitions against it*? In short, he found nobody, except perhaps his accomplice, MITCHELL, that uttered a breath against it. I used to think MITCHELL his *dupe*; I now think him his *accomplice*, and that, too, in more pursuits than one. The ties between them seem to be very close: they are a sort of Siamese twins in patriotism and law-giving. The "*Parliamentary Office*," upon which Mitchell had set his heart, was, I dare say, to have been *a snug living for them both*!

To return, look at the *progress* of the great, impudent, hulky oaf! He is at Birmingham on *Monday, the 4th*, to take away *medals* that want "*releasing*," and which, however, he *does not release*! We hear no more of him till he has *been to Preston* and has *got back to Bolton*, on the *7th*! We are

told that he "*received a most flattering reception* from his good constituents *at Preston*." But we have no *Preston speech*! No *Preston stuff*! We have a long stuff at *Bolton*, and a long stuff at *Manchester*, and we have the *hours of the day* named, the *places* of uttering the stuffs, and an account of the *multitudinous auditories*. But, in the case of *Preston* (the place of all places to have made a grand *show out*), we have only these few words: "*He appeared before his constituents yes-terday, and received a most enthusiastic reception*." That is all! We are not even told *that he made any speech at all to his constituents*! The truth I believe to be this: that MITCHELL had called upon him to come and *release the medals*, or that there would be *no more election for Preston*; that he had *not the money* wherewith to release the medals; that he stopped at Birmingham on the *4th*, *to try to release them*, without the money, and that he did not succeed; that he got off to Manchester and thence to Preston on the *Tuesday*, getting into Preston *in the night* of that day; *not having the medals*, he remained in *cabinet-council* with MITCHELL, HUFFMAN, and Co. till about *10 o'clock at night on Wednesday*; that without ever having faced the open day in Preston, he then packed off with MITCHELL to Bolton; that *there*, as there were no medals due, he appeared in open day and harangued, particularly to *raise money* to pay for the medals; that at Manchester he repented the dose, pressing *still harder for the money*, calling on his friend PRACTICE to put out a *begging box*, and exhorting each person then present to *go and put in a half-penny*.

In short, this was a mere *begging expedition*; the Cock found that there was no hope for him, if once the reform took place; he found that he should, at the end of about three-score years of living in ill-health, be likely to be compelled *to go to work at last*, and by the help of a stone-cracker or a shovel, send a little sweat out of that great hulky carcass; he found this, and to save himself, he *begged and died* and cried.

(as he did when sentenced to Ilchester) and swore, to endeavour to get the poor mill-boys and girls to shout against the Reform Bill. But even from these poor things he could muster up *no petition*. I will in the next *Trash*, which I will publish next week, expose properly the atrocious, the cowardly, the malignant *LIE*, that this fellow put forth at Bolton and Manchester; namely, that it would be better for the working people to have the Members chosen by the *Lords* than by the "*shopkeepers and publicans*." I will properly expose this atrociously malignant lie. In the meanwhile, let every one be assured, that the fellow has been *nearly hooted* in the North. No dinners this time! No invitations any-where! Nobody of any note at all seen with him! Manifestly a *refusal to let him have the medals* at Birmingham. It is in the above *Stuff* said, that the medals had been cast by "*some of the manufacturers*" at Birmingham. Why *MITCHELL* told us that *Mr. Charles Jones had made them*, and was to supply them without profit! Now, 'tis "*some of the manufacturers!*" It is clear that the medals were *imprisoned*, and that they could not be released. It is equally clear, that *the seat* is gone out of the *patronage* of *MITCHELL, HUFFMAN and Co.*, and that the Cock knows this. He is, therefore, *laying the ground for future proceedings*, when he shall get back into the old radical field of exploits! The poor fool does not consider what an altered state of things he will find himself in. The poor fool little imagines what a silly figure he will cut without the words *boroughmonger, rotten borough, packed parliament*, and the like, to ring in people's ears. Little does the great, hulky, staring, thing foresee the difficulty of getting on, as a radical, without the help of old *Sarum, Gatton, Malmsbury, and the like!* It is curious that he said, *before the Reform Bill came on*, that he should not make speeches out of the *House any more!* As soon as he saw that Bill and was told how it would work, he saw that he should not long make speeches in the *House*. Ever since that, he has had an eye to his old

friends and followers; but he will find that *even they* will now abandon him.

Here follow the *STUFFS* at Bolton and Manchester. Pray read *the close of the last Stuff*, where the fellow has the brass to mention the name of *SIR CHARLES WOLSELY*, accompanied with what I am sure is a *HORRIBLE LIE*. Do read that *LIE*, and then ask yourself what must be the fellow that could have invented it?

PRESTON COCK'S STUFF,

At Bolton, 7th April; from the Bolton Chronicle of 9th April.

If the reader ever saw, in a similar compass, so much *beastly folly* with so much *malignity*, as he will find in the following *STUFF*, he has hard luck indeed! This is a real curiosity, and throws great light on the efforts of this man in Parliament, to suggest hints for defeating the Reform Bill. We ought to preserve all his *STUFFS*; for, by-and-by, they will be curious indeed! They will make part of the history of the "*struggles of theboroughmongers and their tools*."

On Thursday morning, 7th April, about half-past ten o'clock, Henry Hunt, Esq., who had been on a visit to Preston, where he had been most enthusiastically received, addressed the populace from the windows of the *Swan Hotel*. After the cheers with which he was greeted had subsided, he spoke to the following effect:

Men of Bolton,—I hope that you are better off than when I last had the honour of addressing you, at least, something better; I hope that trade is better, and you have a better prospect before you than you then had. (Cries of "That's all we have.") Since I was last here, I understand you have had a public meeting on the subject of reform. Did you all attend that meeting? (Yes, yes.) Did they tell you at that meeting if this new measure of reform was carried, that *bread would be cheaper*; that *clothes would be cheaper*, and that *rent and taxes would be lower*? Did they tell you that you would have better wages, and less hours of working? (No, no.) I see you are all running mad for the Reform Bill. But what good do you expect to result from it? Oh, it was to be a *liberal measure*; it certainly was all very good, very *liberal*; but would it get the people *something more to eat*? (No, no.) I have several times had the

honour of visiting your town, and the first time I was brought here forcibly. You have always been kind enough to listen to what I have said. Have I ever told you any-thing but what has been fully realised? (You have not.) If those should be returned who have hitherto had a hand in making the laws, the Reform Bill will be of no use. With regard to your 10l. householders, who will they choose to represent them, will they choose old Fletcher? (Loud laughter, and cries of "No, no.") You laugh at that; but if you were to choose one of his kidney, you would have to laugh at the wrong side of your mouths. *I do not think there is a prospect of the bill passing, at least, as yet*; for there are a hundred Members, who, although they voted for the second reading, are opposed to some of the principal features of it, and will attempt to do away with its effects in the committee; and there will, in all probability, be another election. You, however, will not have any share in it; we shall be able to manage pretty well at Preston without your assistance. But you can be of service the next election, and I will show you how. There are two Members to be elected for Wigan, are there not? (Yes, yes.) Do the people there return the same sort of men as you would wish them to do? (No, no.) Then I will tell you how to manage. When the next election takes place, do, ten or fifteen thousand of you, who are between the ages of 18 and 45—the ages at which persons are liable to serve in the militia—start off for Wigan some morning, and use all *constitutional* arguments (laughter) as will induce them to vote for a man who will advocate the cause of the people. You may not know the voters at first, but you will soon get to know them. Let ten or a dozen of you get hold of one voter, and use such kind arguments as will induce him to vote your way; but, as I said before, let them be perfectly *constitutional*. Take him gently by the arm; but, whatever you do, if you can once get fast hold of him, don't let him go till he has sworn to vote for a man who is favourable to the real, constitutional liberty of the people. Use him gently at first, but if he won't do as you wish, give him a gentle squeeze; but mind and do it *constitutionally*. (Laughter.) Do you approve of this? No! you will stay at home; you will be slaves as long as you live. You may look at me, and others besides me, but in vain; we have not the power to help you, unless you will do something for yourselves. It is not in human nature for a man's interests to be properly attended to, unless he looks after them himself. Every man must think and act for himself; for without that, neither divine nor human aid can be of any service to him. "Oh!" you may say, "if I do this, I may get into jail." D—n it, I have been in jail myself; and all for advocating your rights; but that did not alter me; it did not change my principles. Sending a man to jail is not likely to alter his opinions, particularly his political opinions.

It is decreed by the powers above, that man should live by the sweat of his brow. It is a shame that hard-working, sober, and intelligent Englishmen cannot earn sufficient, with all their exertions, to support a wife and family comfortably with the necessaries, the comforts, and even some of the *luxuries* of life; to put something by for a wet day, and to make provision for old age. I am not exciting you to do wrong, I merely contend for justice. I do not encourage men in idleness, drunkenness, and profligacy. Such men will be sure to suffer, and that severely. We are compelled to pity the families of such men; but the men themselves are hardly entitled to our pity. I contend for the honest man, not for the reprobate. Is that injustice? This is the age of delusion. I do say, come, my friends, we are going to have a reform; but I see nothing in the scheme calculated to *reduce taxation*, or any other of your burdens. I do not offer any-thing to you except for *sober reflecting persons*. I wish them to ruminate upon what I have said to-day, on their pillows; and I expect that upon mature reflection they will say, that "What Mr. Hunt has uttered is right; it is honest; it is just." It is the province of human beings to be excited to thought and to action. You must stick to yourselves, and not depend on a hundred other persons; for if you rely on their exertions, you will go on worse as you grow older. Since I last saw you I have been over to Preston, and I received the highest gratification for doing my duty. Such a reception as I received yesterday, no man ever before met with; and I felt proud to put this question, "Have I done any-thing to offend or displease you?" They all cried out, "You have done as much as we could wish." I hope I shall never be cursed for swerving from my duty;—I have done all in my power to serve the people, and that is but little. I am, though I say it myself, *the only man in the House of Commons for the people*. If the new bill be obtained, the representative franchise will be restricted to 10l. householders; and those, before they can vote, must pay up their rent and taxes. Well, now, are these the kind of men, such as *shopkeepers, publicans* and others, whom you would wish to elect your representatives? (Loud cries of "No! no!") Friends, let us hope for the best; it is folly to hope for what cannot be obtained. Let us not hope for impossibilities; but let us hope that some good will be done. I dare say that if what I am now saying in the face of the public were uttered at some of your private meetings in this town, *I should have my brains knocked out*. As regards the reform measure itself, I will not oppose it; I will vote for any change, since, of whatever nature it may be, I am convinced it will be better than the present system,—(Loud cheers.) I am going to Manchester, where I have promised to be by 12 o'clock, and I always make it a point of fulfilling my promises. I must, therefore, reluctantly bid you farewell. The

people of Manchester invited me. What for? because they do me the justice to believe that I have been the consistent advocate of the rights of the people; and it is a compliment for which I shall ever feel grateful. I am going to have one more look at Peterloo. I shall never forget the 16th of August, and I have described the scenes which took place on that day to a full House in Parliament. I told them that 15 were killed and 618 badly wounded, when merely meeting to obtain that reform for which the whole country is now running mad. But it is a subject which the Members of the House do not like; and when I mentioned it, some of them *hallooed*, some *squeaked*, some *shivered*, and others *had their knees knocking together*. (Loud and continued laughter.) I shall have an opportunity of meeting you again, and recollect what I have said about Wigan. Do some of you go over and see fair play. (Cries of "We will, we will.") You are going to have an election when this Reform Bill passes, and who do you think of returning? (Cries of "Mr. Naisby, Mr. Naisby.") I am sure that I should be highly gratified with having such a man by my side; but I think Mr. Naisby does not possess that ambition; in fact his health would not permit it. He has suffered severely for the exertions he has already made in public. I have heard that you are going to elect Mr. Peter Ainsworth. Will you have him? (No, no Truck.) Who then will you have? (Cries of "Mr. Pearson.") Mr. Pearson would make a most excellent representative; but I think it would much better answer your purpose to choose a suitable person from your own neighbourhood. When I was here last I had the honour to dine with Mr. Edmund Grundy, from Bury, and he spoke on that occasion in such a manner as I never before heard. He is your neighbour; and if you return such a man as that, Bolton will be immortalized for ages to come. (Loud cheers.) *Preston is already immortalized by electing me.* Since I became connected with that town, the name of Preston is *more frequently repeated* than that of any other in the kingdom; and it is every-where spoken of *all over the continent*. If Bolton were to follow her example, it would be immortalized, not merely through the continent, but *through the world*. Those of you who think that Mr. Edmund Grundy is a fit and proper person to represent you in Parliament will signify the same by a show of hands. [Upon which at least ninety-nine out of every hundred held up their hands.] Are there any 10*l.* householders amongst you? If there are, let them hold up their hands to the contrary. [Here two hands were held up amidst roars of laughter, in which Mr. Hunt heartily joined.] Oh! I see the 10*l.* householders don't show out to-day. (Renewed laughter.) When the time arrives send Grundy. There is not a man in the East, the West, the North, or the South, so fit to represent you as Edmund

Grundy. (Loud cheers.) And I am sure that I would not say this of *any* man; no, not even of my own father or brother. If the Reform Bill takes place, who will put up for the county? (Cries of "Hulton, Hulton.") What! *Miss Hulton!!!* O! what a disgrace! I understand he is canvassing for the country. (Cries of "Yes, yes.") What! the man who sat at the head of the magistrates, when a drunken and infuriated yeomanry sabred an unarmed multitude of men, women, and children, who were peaceably and constitutionally assembled *to petition for reform?* If such a man as that is to be elected to represent this county, it is high time for me to *go out of the world!* If he dare to show his face, and make such an attempt, I hope that you (the people) will *set at him, after the manner of a bull-dog* when set on to worry a cat; and that they would drive him completely out of the country. (Loud cheers.) If Lancashire sent up this man, all the rest of the country would cry shame upon it. The ghosts of the men who were murdered, and the blood which was spilt at Peterloo, would rise up in judgment against them; and *I hope to have him tried at the bar for his life, for those bloody murders.* At the suggestion of my friend *Mr. Mitchell*, I will tell you how laws are made in that House, and God knows a *pretty mess they make of it.* As soon as I was there I was placed on what is called the Lancashire list. One of the Committee, who is one of your county members, (Mr. Patten,) came running to me one day, and said, "We want a quorum for a Turnpike Act. There are four of us, and we want you to make a fifth. It is a mere matter of course." I replied, "I'll go then." There was Lord Stanley in the chair, and there were five of us to regulate this Turnpike Act. They had passed half of the clauses the day before. They said it was to widen, and otherwise improve the Turnpike Road from Preston to Liverpool, a distance of 33 miles. I asked who was to represent the interests of Preston, and I found that there was only an attorney's clerk, or a commissioner's clerk, or something of that sort. I wished to look at the clauses that had been passed. "Oh!" said they, "Oh! never mind, it's all right." "I am not quite so sure of that," said I. The first clause said that if any person rode in a tilted cart (I dare say you know in Lancashire what a tilted cart means)—a cart such as farmers and others use, as I may use my gig in a rainy day, with a cover over it; or as a gentleman uses his carriage. Should the poor man be riding in the cart, and not walking by the side of it, he was liable, by this clause, to a penalty of ten pounds! and this clause which was "all right" was aimed at the poor man, by men who could loll at their ease by their fire-sides or ride in their carriages without being molested. I said "I shall certainly object to that clause." A chap said, "We are obliged to halloo to the carters before they will get out of the way."

I said (and you know we members of Parliament have very great power), "Pray who are you?" for I knew he wasn't a member of Parliament; he replied, "I am a magistrate for the county of Lancaster." Who do you suppose it was? Why, the Rector of Ormskirk!!! "Oh!" said I, "I have heard of you before." Well, this parson of Ormskirk then said, "If you object to the clause, strike it out." The clause was accordingly struck out, and this was my first act of legislation. The second clause was, that if a poor man drove a cart or a wagon, or any other vehicle, a few inches from the right side of the road, he was to be liable to a penalty of 10*l.* for every such offence committed on the road between Preston and Liverpool. As soon as I had read it, I said, "This is a ridiculous way of legislating: and if it is allowed by this meeting, I will certainly oppose it before the Speaker in the House of Commons." "Oh!" said they, "if you object to it, leave it out." Thus you see how necessary it is to have honest men for your representatives. Well, the third clause was that if any man drove a cart or wagon, or any other vehicle, in a state of intoxication, he was also liable to a penalty of 10*l.* You see they were all *ten pounds*, and I assure you I begin to have a very poor opinion of these *ten pounds*! (Laughter.) Now the law of the land says that *five shillings* is the penalty for a man getting drunk. From five shillings to ten pounds is a famous Lancashire jump; I observed to them, "Who is to be the judge of the man being drunk? The man who charged him with it may be drunk. Who is to take care of the horses and carts, wagons and goods, during this man's absence? and while they are endeavouring to find the magistrate, the man may have got sober, and the magistrate drunk." (Cries of "Good, good.") When I said this, the parson of Ormskirk dropped his muzzle, and that clause was also struck out. Do not put power into mine or any other man's hands without watching him. Such is human nature that a man will be a tyrant, unless restraint be placed upon his actions. I should be sorry to accept of unlimited power for fear I should abuse it. You and the rest of the people must depend upon yourselves; until you do that none of your grievances can be redressed. You see I do not flatter you; and in wishing you good morning, I thank you kindly for what you have done, and in so doing I wish you health and happiness till I see you again."

After Mr. Hunt had delivered this animated address, he was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers; after which he immediately proceeded in a chaise to Manchester, accompanied by Mr. Candelet of that town, and by Mr. Mitchell of Preston.

VISIT OF HUNT TO MANCHESTER.

On Thursday morning last, 7th April, a number of placards appeared upon the walls, announcing that Mr. Hunt intended to visit Manchester, and that he might be expected

from Bolton about half-past twelve. A procession of his admirers and friends, accompanied by a band of music, and bearing with them a number of flags, accordingly went forth to meet him. When they reached Pendleton, they were met by Mr. Hunt and his party, consisting of Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Schofield, and Mr. Candelet, who were in an open carriage; and, after a short halt, that Mr. Hunt and his friends might partake of some refreshment, the procession moved on to Manchester, preceded by the band of music and the flags. There were no less than eight or ten of these emblems, several of which bore a white ground, with the following, amongst other inscriptions in black letters: "Vote by Ballot;" "Universal Suffrage;" "Annual Parliaments;" "No Corn Bill;" &c., &c. There was another with the inscription, "*The time is come; the man of the people is at the head of millions;*" but the most novel and remarkable of these banners was one with a broad black border, representing a "Manchester Yeoman" cutting down with his sabre a female who was kneeling before him in a piteous and imploring attitude.

The object of Mr. Hunt's visit, at present, to this part of the country, was explained by himself in his speech on St. Peter's Field, a verbatim report of which we have given below, for the edification or amusement of our readers. He addressed his constituents in Preston on Wednesday, and was, we understand, most enthusiastically received. On Thursday morning, at half-past ten o'clock, he addressed the populace at Bolton, from the windows of the Swan Hotel. We have received a report of his speech on that occasion, which is almost an exact transcript of that which he delivered on his arrival here. He then immediately proceeded to Manchester, where he arrived about two o'clock, in the manner we have already described.

Immediately on his arrival, he proceeded to St. Peter's Field, where an immense multitude of persons were assembled to receive him. Great difficulty and delay were experienced in obtaining silence, and in selecting the most advantageous spot for addressing the people. When these obstacles were at length overcome,

Mr. Hunt spoke to the following effect:— My friends of Manchester, you may be assured that your kindness in coming to meet me on this occasion gives me unsigned pleasure. I met you on this field eleven years ago to petition for your rights, and I feel great delight to come here again now that you are determined to assert your rights.—(Cheers.) But, in asserting your rights as men, as men of reflection and men of mind, you should be careful how you exercise those rights. Take care to do nothing that may give those who are trying to deceive you, a handle to withhold those rights from you. (Cries of "No.") Now you have all heard, for I must come to the point at once, what we have been about in the great House of Parliament. (Hear.) But I

must caution you to think for yourselves, and *not trust to us*. You have all heard that Ministers have proposed a measure of reform. We have all been contending a long time for reform; but are Ministers about to give us any-thing we have been contending for? (Cries of "No" and "Aye.") We have always contended for the rights of every man; that every Englishman paying taxes may have a right to exercise a voice in choosing those that are to lay on the taxes. Do Ministers propose any-thing of this sort? (No.) But some persons may say, "What! are you against the measure, Mr. Hunt?" I say no; I am *for the measure*. We have been governed, or rather mis-governed, so long, we have been under the rule of a corrupt Parliament so many years, that I am for the measure, simply because it's a change, though not half as much as as we desire. Do they propose to lessen the taxes? Do they propose to keep their hands out of our pockets? To give us cheaper bread, cheaper meat, cheaper clothing, to work us fewer hours, or to give us better wages? (Cries of No, no.) Then how the devil are you interested, pray? I wish somebody would tell me. I have heard that you have all had great meetings in favour of the Reform Bill, at Manchester, at Bolton, and even among my own constituents at Preston. The whole country is running wild about the measure; but we should keep our eyes open, and not run into a quagmire. Now, I can tell you what Ministers do propose. *They say it is their intention* to give what they call the middle classes, which amount to about a million of people, a share in the representation, *in order that* they may join the higher classes to *keep seven millions of the lower classes down*. (Hear, and shame.) That is *what they say*, and if you don't keep your eyes open, and don't think and reflect, they will succeed. But if the people take care they will prevent it. (Hear.) I say, let the bill pass,—though when it is likely to pass I don't know—(a laugh)—but when it does come it will be like *a cuckoo's nest, or a mare's nest*,—we shall find very few eggs in it. (Laughter.) I ask if they propose to benefit the people by it? (Cheers.) Sir Robert Peel said the Ministry were going to make a democratical House of Commons, that they were going to give the people power. But their reply was, "No; we are going to *keep power out of the hands of the people*: we are going to give power to persons paying a rent of 10*l.* and upwards, for the purpose of preventing the people from getting universal suffrage, or even the vote by ballot." Now, I think the people should reflect. If a fever last nine days, it ought then to take a turn, or else it will become fatal. Now I hope the people will always ask those who are persuading them of the excellence of this measure, what is it to do for us; for if it is not to benefit the people, what is it to do? (It's policy.) They will get a million of small shopkeepers, and others in what they call the

middle classes, to join the higher classes, to *form yeomanry corps, and to raise armies*; and they will unite together to keep down the seven millions who are unrepresented; and they will take from them enough to keep a horde of lazy and idle persons, who do not work at all. When I have appeared before you on former occasion, did I ever say one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow? (No.) Did I ever deceive you and say, "Oh, we are going to get reform; they intend to knock off sixty rotten boroughs." If I had jugged you in this manner I dare say most of you would have believed it to be quite true, and would have shouted, "Hurrah! It's a good thing! Well done, Hunt!" (Laughter.) But, if I had used such language, how could I have shown my face among you after it had come into operation and you found it had done nothing? You would tell me, that notwithstanding the praise I had bestowed upon it, it had not taken off the taxes, it had not *lessened the price of bread*; that the army and navy were still kept up, and that they still continued to tax you till there was nothing whatever left in your pockets. I would be obliged to hang down my head and say, "Ah! my friends, I have been quite deceived with this measure;" and your reply would be, "Ah! that Hunt is but a shallow-pated fellow after all; he thought the bill would work wonders, which have never come to pass." And then I should stay at home and enjoy myself, instead of going about in this way and *exerting myself for the benefit of my fellow-countrymen*. If I could cut myself into twenty pieces, I could not detect all the iniquity that is constantly going on in the Parliamentary Committees. An attorney, with four or five Members of Parliament, get into a Committee-room, and make a law, and we in the House never know any-thing about it. Now this is the way in which the laws are passed. So if you get Members for Manchester, you ten-pounders take care what you do; as for the great majority of you, you will have no voice in the matter. I have been wondering, if the bill passes, who you are going to send up as Members for Manchester. Most persons to whom I have put this question, say they don't know. But one man told me you were going to send up Peter Birley, (Hugh.) "Hugh Birley," said I, "who is he, I never heard of him before; is he a reformer?" (A laugh.) "Oh, no; its Captain Birley, that came up to the hustings at Peterloo." "What!" said I, "are you going to send up the Manchester Butcher of Peterloo to represent you?" (We'll cut down the hustings first.) I trust you, my friends, who are ten-pounders, will take care what you do. If you send him, I will never come into Lancashire again. But will you ever submit to this? (Loud cries of "No.") If I were a Manchester man, *I would have half of Manchester in ashes first*; and instead of 14 lives being lost, *I would have the best blood in Manchester spilt*, before I disgraced

the country in that way. (Loud cheers. That's plain speaking.) Oh, no; you must find a better man than that. (Shuttleworth—Potter—Candelet. A laugh.) Mr. Potter is a good man, but he is already engaged for Wigan. You will have an election for Wigan long before you have an election for Manchester; and if you send the same men in you have sent already, you will have no reform at all. When the first day of Wigan election arrives, every man between 15 and 60 years of age should accompany Mr. Richard Potter there. I would have twenty or thirty thousand of you go and exercise what I call a "constitutional influence" over the election. Let ten or twelve of you take each voter, and use all sorts of kind entreaties (a laugh) to make him vote for the friend of the people. But if these be not sufficient, you should take him by the arm, and give him a squeeze. (Laughter.) In Lancashire you give rather a *feeling* squeeze I believe. (Laughter.) *I would not pull his arms off, but I would very nearly do it.* (Cheers and laughter.) This is what I call using "constitutional influence." (Great laughter.) I have ten thousand things to say to you, but the *state of my health* will not allow me. I thank you very kindly for this flattering reception, for it is a convincing proof that the people of England are what they always were. They will never desert a public man if he do not desert them. Do not look to me, but depend upon yourselves. We have it not in our power to serve you, even if we had the inclination. Unless you unite together, and are determined to serve yourselves, you will never succeed in your objects. (Cheers.) My friends, I shall now say something, although I have been cautioned not to say it, of rather a *graver* description than any-thing I said before. When the *brave* 3730 electors of Preston returned me to Parliament, *they were promised* a silver medal each, *for their bravery*. A subscription for this purpose was entered into all over the country, in order to celebrate the triumph of liberty. When the medals were finished, the expense was found to be 370*l.* Mr. Mitchell, our treasurer, had only 100*l.* in hand of the money that had been collected. He paid that, and the medals remained in the hands of the manufacturer till the sum should be made up *out of the pennies of the poor people*, for the rich would not subscribe, *I warrant you*. I came to Birmingham the other day *to pay the* 250*l.* which was deficient, and let the people have their medals. *I am now going back.* I ask you whether I am to bear the expense or not. (No, no.) *I shall pay for them in the mean time*, but I think that the *people of England*, *whose servant I am*, will not let me bear the loss. Mr. Prentice, who was very kind and attentive in getting subscriptions during the election, says that a box shall be put up at his office, and *a half-penny a piece* from those now present will soon make up the sum required. This is an *unpleasant subject* for

me to talk about, but it is necessary. When I came out of Ilchester jail, *Sir Charles Wolseley came to me at Brookes's coffee-house*, in London, *on behalf of the Whigs*, and said that if I would join them as *Sir Robert Wilson did*, they would subscribe 12,000*l.* for me, and put me in Parliament. "You see," said he, "it's of no use to fight for the people: they won't protect you from being sent to jail." I said, "Thank God, I have a *small patrimony left*, a hand to work, if necessary, for my support, and a *heart to spurn such a thing*. I have never been a slave since I was at school, and I shall never be again while I can procure bread and water." (Cheers.) I have sacrificed many comforts *for the sake of the people*, and they have it in their power *to protect me* if they would stick together, but they are *like a rope of sand*. All the factions are united together; but if the people would unite, they have more power than the whole of the factions put together. Don't quarrel, don't lay out your money in liquor, at least more than will do you good, don't make beasts of yourselves; but *get a fund for your mutual protection*, and you may yet be free. I wish you not to be led away by any-thing I have said unless you find that it is right and just; but don't agree with me in any thing you don't think right or don't understand. I hope to see the people of England better fed, better clothed, better paid, and less worked than you have been.—Mr. Hunt concluded by saying that since he had become an M. P., he had received *many invitations*; but that he would not accept of any of them, but proceed straightway to the house of his friend Mr. Cox, in Dale-Street. After he had closed his speech, the people gave, at his request, nine tremendous cheers *for the brave electors of Preston.*

SEEDS.

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOOD-LANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. Svo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10*lbs.* 10*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10*lbs.* and under 50*lbs.* 9*½ d.* a pound; any quantity above

50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lb., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the

kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Riga, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm at Michaelmas, I could have *no Corn there*; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The Tom Tit has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is "*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*" The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The *great use* of this corn is to *the labourers*. On *ten rods* of ground I have, this *very adverse year*, growed *eight bushels of shelled corn*; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of *seven or eight score*. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would *fat a good large hog*; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to *distribute a little seed amongst the labourers*. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I will give them instructions for the planting and management and application

of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 ears of the corn amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks, Bucks, Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex, Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have bacon to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 ears amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my particular regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, whom I know, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) *along with each ear of corn*. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1s. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the Book, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2s. 6d.; which is called a TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 8, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

APRIL 7.—HALSON, A., Bridgewater-sq., merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BATH, H. and H., Gun-street, Bishopsgate-street, cabinet-makers.

CHAPPELL, A. S., Walbrook, plumber.

DRABBLE, W., Leman-street, Goodman's-fields, pewterer.

FLETCHER, C. and A. Woodhead, Salford, Lancashire, common brewers.

HANSON, G., Swansea, Glamorgansh., baker.

HARRISS, T. B., Leicester, hosier.

HEWITT, J., jun., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.

HOWSON, G., Winterton, Lincolns., maltster.

HUBERT, T., jun., Commercial-wharf, Regent's-canal, Hampstead-road, coal-merchant.

PHILLIPS, T., Swansea, Glamorganshire, grocer.

SHAW, T., Bishopsgate-st. Without, grocer.

SWEETAPPLE, J. D., Godalming, Surrey, mealman.

TOGWELL, J., Cheltenham, baker.

WELLER, T. E., Cheltenham, bookseller.
WILLOUGHBY, S. and B., Birmingham, brass-ring-manufacturer.

TUESDAY, APRIL 12, 1831. INSOLVENT.

APRIL 11.—CLOSE, W., Goswell-street, apothecary.

BANKRUPTS.

LAPAGE, J., Leeds, and F. Lapage, Liverpool, merchants.

MUIR, W., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.

POWELL, R., Llangammarch, Breconshire, cattle-dealer.

READ, J. C., Leicester, tailor.

SMITH, D., Okeover, Staffordshire, and J. B. Smith, Liverpool, cotton-spinners.

SHACKLES, J. G., Kingston-upon-Hull, linen-draper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 11.—Our supplies of each kind of English grain, as also English malt and flour, have been, since this day se'nnight, rather limited; of foreign grain tolerably good. From Ireland we have received 2465 quarters of oats, and 574 barrels of flour. This day's market was rather numerously attended both by London and country buyers; yet, owing to the sellers considering that the anticipated advance in the duty on foreign corn entitled them to an advance, the buyers expecting it to be productive of a decline in currency, the trade was throughout very dull. With wheat generally, though a decline of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter was probably submitted to in extensive sales, good barley, peas, beans, rye, malt, and flour, at last week's quotations; with oats at an advance of about 1s. per quarter. Sainfoin and clover seeds look downwards; prices of other seeds stationary, but threatening to be lower.

Wheat	59s. to 70s.
Rye	36s. to 42s.
Barley	30s. to 36s.
fine	35s. to 46s.
Peas, White	38s. to 41s.
Boilers	43s. to 48s.
Grey	36s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 46s.
Tick	36s. to 42s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 34s.
Poland	27s. to 31s.
Feed	24s. to 29s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.
Sides, new... 43s. to 48s.
Pork, India, new... 118s. 6d. to —s. 6d.
Pork, Mess, new... 63s. to 65s. 0d. per bark.
Butter, Belfast 102s. 108s. per cwt.
Carlow 98s. to 108
Cork 98s. to 103s.
Limerick... 102s. to 104s.
Waterford 94s. to 102s.
Dublin 98s. to 100s.

Cheese, Cheshire	50s. to 84s.
Gloucester, Double	56s. to 62s.
Gloucester, Single	50s. to 56s.
Edam	46s. to 50s.
Gouda	44s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—April 11.

In this day's market, which exhibited throughout but a moderate supply, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, with beef at a depression of from 2d. to 4d. ; veal at an advance of from 4d. to 6d. per stone ; with mutton, lamb, and pork, at Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,735 ; sheep and lambs, 17,470 ; calves, 80 ; pigs, 170.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	79 $\frac{1}{2}$

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 15.

The arrivals of Foreign wheat this week are very large, the greater part of inferior quality. The prices of the best samples the same as on Monday, the inferior 1s. to 2s. cheaper.

The supplies of English grain are but moderate.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting ; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens ; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Greenhouses ; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

7. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

8. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

9. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

10. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects : 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty ; 2. Drunkenness ; 3. Bribery ; 4. Oppression ; 5. Unjust Judges ; 6. The Sluggard ; 7. The Murderer ; 8. The Gamester ; 9. Public Robbery ; 10. The Unnatural Mother ; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage ; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY ; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

11. POOR MAN'S FRIEND. A new edition. Price 8d.

12. THE LAW OF TURNPIKES. By William Cobbett, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

14. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds. To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

GEOLOGY.**PROFESSOR SEDGWICK'S ADDRESSES.**

THE PHILOSOPHICAL MAGAZINE for April, by R. Taylor and R. Phillips, contains a faithful Report of the Addresses of the Rev. Professor Sedgwick, M. A. F. R. S., on presenting the Wollaston Medal to Mr. W. Smith, for the discovery of the identification of Strata by Fossils : and on retiring from the Presidency of the Geological Society. With other original scientific communications, by F. Baily, Esq. F. R. S., the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, F. R. S., &c. &c.